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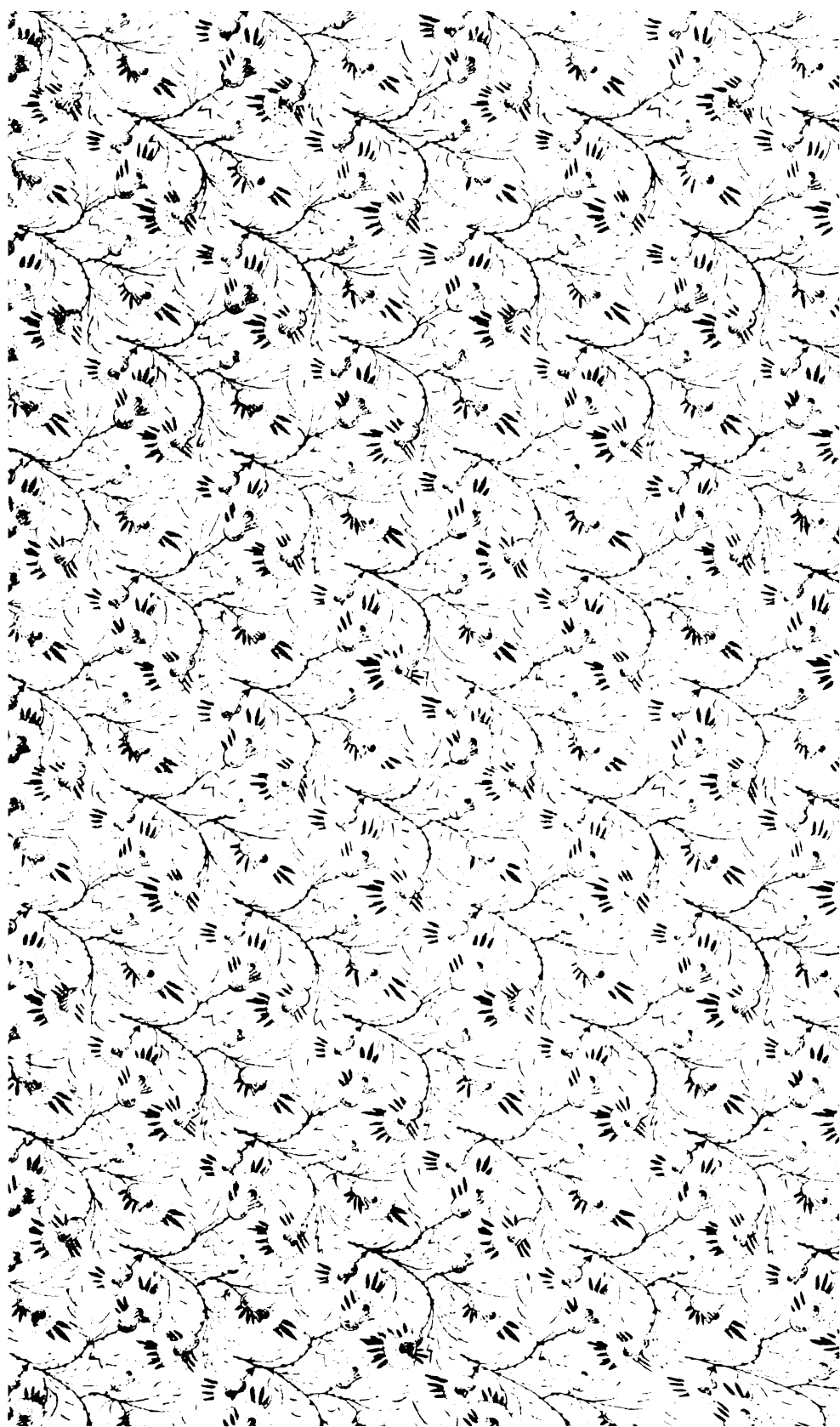
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Sources of the
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By
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A STUDY
IN THE
SOURCES OF THE MESSENIACA
OF PAUSANIAS.

A DISSERTATION
PRESENTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF
THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

BY

HERMAN LOUIS EBELING, PH. D.,
Professor of Greek in Miami University, Oxford, Ohio.

BALTIMORE:
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TO
MY DEAR PARENTS.

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ERRATA.

A few obvious misprints are passed without notice.

Pages 51, 53, 56, 58, 78	—for Conat	read Conat.
Page 75, l. 1, 4, and 13	—“ Comon	“ Conon.
“ 13, l. 3 from bottom—		“ proof of.
“ 23, l. 16 “ “	—“ c. VI, a	“ p. 52.
“ 28, l. 13 “ “	—“ p. 25	“ p. 24.
“ 33, l. 17 “ “	—“ p. 11	“ p. 19.
“ 35, l. 17 “ “	—“ that part of the first war	read that part the first war.
“ 58, l. 8 “ “	—“ c. VII, b, end	read p. 64.
“ 66, l. 2 “ top	—“ Althis	“ Atthis.
“ 67, l. 5 “ “	—“ p. 13	“ p. 16.
“ 67, l. 11 “ “	—“ γένεσθαι	“ γενέσθαι
“ 17, l. 1 “ “	—divide ἐκδοθέν-τος	
“ 18, l. 5 “ “	—“ μετεπέμ-ποντο	
“ 67, l. 6 “ bottom—	“ “	
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PREFACE.

It has long been recognized that the style of Pausanias' *Messenica* is an improvement on that of the other books of his *Descriptio Graeciae*, and very justly this improvement has been referred to the sources he had used.

Kohlmann, *Quaestiones Messeniacaë*, 1866, has shown that these sources were to a large extent Myron of Priene, a rhetorician, and the epic poet Rhianus of Bene. Hoping to prove Pausanias' dependence upon Rhianus more in detail, I undertook to examine the *Messenica* with a view to poetic style. I compared with it the extant epigrams of Rhianus, but without success. A search for poetical words revealed one here and there, but these may be found in the other books as well. Moreover, that part of the fourth book which has been attributed to Myron is not without poetical color, owing no doubt somewhat to the sources which Myron himself had used. Myron also came in for a share of my attention. Kohlmann among other things cited a number of passages containing moral reflections, which he referred to the rhetorician as their source. But on further reading in Pausanias, moral reflections appeared very frequently in the other books, so that they offered no test of authorship.

Hoping still to throw some light on the style of the fourth book, which would enable me to mark off the different parts of it, I examined the style of Pausanias more generally. This only proved to me that Pausanias has a style of his own, such as it is, which seems to be characterized nowhere so well as in Gurlitt, *Über Pausanias*, 1890, p. 15 sqq. This view is supported by the fact that the multitude and variety of the sources which Pausanias used, made it necessary for him to resist at least a literal transfer.

C. Wernicke, *De Pausaniae Periegetae Studiis Herodoteis* (Berolini, 1884), has shown in parallel columns how Pausanias adopted matter from Herodotus. One may say of these passages that without exception they have been changed in diction and in structure, and Pausanias' desire to assimilate the material to his style can be seen most markedly in those passages where the borrowing is close. The same may be said on comparing Pausanias VIII, 49-51, with Plutarch's *Philopoemen* (see Nissen, *Kritische Untersuchungen üb. die Quellen des Livius*, p. 287 sqq., Berlin, 1863). Besides Pausanias shows considerable skill in extracting, condensing and combining his material, to which he seems ever ready to make some slight additions from memory. A certain amount of independence may also be seen in the alterations which he makes.

This independence, then, and the mosaic-like character of his work explains the difficulty of separating one part from the other by detecting differences of style. I therefore determined to make an attempt at defining the limits of the sources of the *Messenica* from internal evidence before continuing my study of the style.

The result has been the following study of the sources of the *Messenica*, in which it has been attempted to prove that Pausanias made a larger use of Myron's work than is generally supposed.

A SKETCH OF MESSENIAN HISTORY.

As it might assist the reader in understanding the arguments of the following discussion, I give below a short sketch of Messenian history according to Pausanias, to which I append a chronological table, giving some dates of important events in this history, as well as of those ancient writers whose testimony we have to consider.

Long before the siege of Troy Polycæon came to the unoccupied land that lay west of the Taygetus range of mountains and took possession of it. From his wife's name, Messene, the land was called Messenia. The government under Polycæon and his successors was on the whole peaceful; cities were founded and religious institutions established. At the return of the Heraclidae the Dorian Cresphontes drew lots for this fertile country with the sons of Aristodemus, and through an understanding with Temenus, king of Argos, to whom the lot drawing had been entrusted, Cresphontes had Messenia assigned to himself. This brought Messenia under Dorian rule, and although in an uprising Cresphontes was killed, his son Aepytus was placed on the throne by the help of the Arcadian king Cypselus and the above mentioned sons of Aristodemus, and so the family of Cresphontes ruled Messenia for many years until the race became extinct with the death of Euphaes, who was killed in the first Messenian war. It was during the reign of Phintas that the first occasion arose which caused a feeling of enmity between the Lacedæmonians and Messenians. They had been in the habit of worshipping together in the temple of Artemis Limnas, which was situated on the border of Messenia and Lacedæmonia. At one of such religious festivals a disturbance arose between the Messenians and Spartans, during which the Spartan king Teleclus was killed. Later on a difficulty arose between a

Messenian named Polychares and a Spartan named Euaephnus. All attempts to smooth the matter over proved unavailing, and the war broke out by the Spartans' seizing the Messenian town Ampheia 743 B. C.

The war lasted twenty years, and was conducted bravely by the Messenians against great odds ; at first under the leadership of their king Euphaes, and then under that of Aristodemus, who was elected in spite of the protests of the priests. For Aristodemus, in his eagerness to serve his country, had attempted in obedience to the oracle, to sacrifice his daughter, but owing to the opposition he met with from the lover of the maiden, had in a fit of passion slain her with his own hand. Shortly before this tragedy the Messenians had retreated to the mountain fortress Ithome, where they held out against the attacks of the Spartans for many years, but finally a succession of unfavorable oracles and omens threw them and their leader into despair. Aristodemus committed suicide on the grave of his daughter, and five months later, at the end of the twentieth year, Ithome was surrendered. Some of the Messenians went into exile, but the majority remained and were sorely oppressed by Spartan rule. Thirty-nine years after the surrender of Ithome the Messenians tried to throw off the Spartan yoke. They were now led by Aristomenes, who performed many wonderful deeds of bravery, and struck terror into the hearts of the Spartans. The oracle advised them to ask the Athenians for a counsellor, who sent them the lame school-master Tyrtaeus. He, however, succeeded in reviving the courage of the Lacedaemonians with his war-songs. At the battle of the Great Trench the Messenians suffered an overwhelming defeat owing to the treachery of the Arcadian king Aristocrates, who unexpectedly withdrew his troops from the field of battle. The Messenians now retreated to the mountain Eira, where they held out against a siege for eleven years, during which time Aristomenes made repeated inroads upon Spartan territory with a band of trusty followers. Finally, 668 B. C., the Messenians were forced to capitulate, and sought refuge with their Arcadian neighbors. The treachery of the Arcadian king Aristocrates was discovered, and he was put to death. Most of the Messenians set sail for Sicily, where they had been called by Anaxilas, king of Rhegium. They got possession of the town Zancle and changed its

name to Messene. Aristomenes ended his days on the island of Rhodes, where he had accompanied one of his daughters, who had married the king of Ialysus, a town on this island.

The third Messenian war (464 B. C.) was occasioned by an earthquake, which proved so disastrous to the Spartans that those of the Helots who were descended from the Messenians thought an opportunity had arrived to gain their liberty. They entrenched themselves on Mt. Ithome, and succeeded in resisting all attacks that were made upon them for a number of years. Finally, however, they were forced to capitulate, whereupon the Athenians turned over to them the city Naupactus to inhabit. While here they captured a town, Oeniadae, in Acarnania, which was hostile to the Athenians, but held it only for one year.

After the battle of Aegospotami, 405 B. C., they were driven out of Naupactus by the Spartans. Some of them went to their countrymen in Sicily and to Rhegium, but most of them set sail for Libya under the leadership of Comon, and settled in Eusperitae.

Thirty-five years later they were recalled by Epaminondas, who organized a new Messenian state 370 B. C. Comon, who had been apprised beforehand by a dream of their return to Greece, led them back.

Great preparations were now made for building on Mt. Ithome a town which was to be called Messene. When everything was in readiness all present offered sacrifices to their respective gods, and thereupon, to the accompaniment of flutes, they began the construction of the walls of the new city.

Pausanias continues with an account of the later history of the Messenians down to the year 183 B. C., but as this part has little to do with our subject, it has been omitted.

It may perhaps not be superfluous to warn the reader against confusing Aristodemus with Aristomenes.

Aristodemus was the king of the Messenians in the *first* war.

Aristomenes was the national hero of the Messenians, who performed heroic deeds in the *second* war.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF MESSENIAN HISTORY.

B. C.	
1104.	Cresphontes.
826.	Teleclus.
743.	First Messenian War.
685.	Second Messenian War.
464.	Third Messenian War.
455.	Messenians settle in Naupactus.
405.	Messenians driven from Naupactus.
370.	Messenia restored by Epaminondas.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE SOURCES.

B. C.	
685.	Tyrtaeus.
445.	Herodotus.
419.	Thucydides.
396 (446-355).	Xenophon.
369.	Isocrates.
338.	Ephorus.
251 (about).	Sosibius.
222.	Rhianus.
200. (?)	Myron of Priene.
146.	Polybius.
1st Cent.	Diodorus Siculus.
—	Strabo.
—	Trogus Pompeius (Epitome of his History by Justinus, 400 A. D. (?))
A. D.	
150.	Pausanias.
—	Polyaenus.
200.	Clemens Alexandrinus.
300.	Eusebius Caesariensis.
400. (?)	Justinus.

Note.—References are made to pages of thesis or to chapters.



A STUDY IN THE SOURCES OF THE MESSENIACA OF PAUSANIAS.

I. INTRODUCTION.

Sober history knows but little in reference to the Messenian wars. Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.*, I, 134, considers the verses of Tyrtæus to be nearly our only reliable source of information concerning them. They were probably the only source which the ancients themselves possessed, whose collection of Tyrtæan verses containing historical information was, as O. Müller, *Dorier*, 1844, p. 141, remarked, hardly larger than that which we have at the present day.

But although there was little reliable information of these early wars handed down, yet there was an abundance of tradition cherished by the Messenians, which clustered chiefly about the deeds of Aristomenes, who was looked upon as the national hero. Isocrates, *Archidamus*, draws on Mythology to establish the claim of the Spartans to Messenia, and speaks also of oracles that had gone out from Delphi in answer to the inquiries sent there both by the Messenians and Lacedæmonians. When the Messenians were restored to their country by Epaminondas, 370 B. C., it was but natural that the interest in these early events should be largely increased, and in consequence of this several writers undertook to work up the existing material into a literary form. Of the *Messenica* by Æschylus of Alexandria mentioned by Athenæus, 13, 599, e, nothing further is known. But from Pausanias we know that Rhianus of Bene seized upon this material to write an epic poem in imitation of Homer's *Iliad*, in which Aristomenes was the central figure; also that Myron, using to a large extent the same material, wrote a history of the Messenians in prose, in which other heroes played prominent roles along with Aristomenes.

The following discussion deals chiefly with Myron's history, therefore a characterization of his work, as far as known, is necessary. Unfortunately there are no fragments of his work extant, if we except two short passages in Athenaeus, and we have to rely chiefly on the account of the first Messenian war in Pausanias for our information.

There is no doubt that Myron served Pausanias as a source for writing the history of the first Messenian war. Pausanias' own words in c. 6, besides Kohlmann's investigation alluded to above, prove this. And, as it is also highly probable that Myron was the *only* source for this part of the *Messenica*, I shall proceed in my investigation on the assumption that all of the first Messenian war reflects Myron's manner of treatment, although it seems that, as usual, Pausanias manipulated his material and put it in his own language.

We see in the Myron of Pausanias a rhetorician. Boeckh, *Opusc.*, IV, 211, 4, and C. Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Gr.*, IV, 461, have identified him with the rhetorician of that name mentioned by Rutilius Lupus, *De figg. sentent.*, I, 20; II, 1; and Kohlmann has sufficiently pointed out the rhetorical character of the account of the first Messenian war in Pausanias to support this view. An examination of the account of the first war also shows that Myron was more bent on furbishing up tradition than on writing history, and so Kohlmann justly calls him *scriptor fabularum magis, quam historiarum*. Busolt (*Neue Jahrb. f. Phil.*, 1883, p. 814), has thrown considerable light on the manner in which Myron composed his history. He says: "Der Rahmen für die Geschichte des *ersten* messenischen Krieges ist also aus Thukydides und Xenophon zusammengeflochten. Zur Füllung desselben wurden allerlei Details, Fabeln und Wundergeschichten verwendet, die der Gewährsmann des Pausanias [Myron] nach Erzählung der Messenier und dem Epos componierte." This explains the air of unreality in so many passages of Pausanias' *Messenica*, and in this light we are able to appreciate the criticism that Pausanias himself, c. 6, passed on Myron: Μύρωνα δὲ ἐπὶ τε ἄλλοις καταμαθεῖν ἔστιν οὐ προορώμενον εἰ ψευδῇ τε καὶ οὐ πιθανᾷ δόξει λέγειν, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐν τῇδε τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ συγγραφῇ.

But we should not censure Myron for writing a fictitious account of the Messenian wars; for, as history has failed us here, we have thus had preserved for us an interesting though imaginary picture of these wars. It is true the partisan spirit displayed is very marked, yet we are very willing to have our sympathies aroused for the Messenians, who had to suffer so severe a punishment.

That Myron felt a bitterness for the Spartans can be seen from Athenaeus, 14, 657, d: *ὅτι δὲ τοῖς Εἰλωσί ὑβριστικῶς πάνυ ἐχρῶντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Μύρων ὁ Πριηνεὺς ἱστορεῖ ἐν δευτέρῳ Μεσσηνιακῶν γράφων οὕτως 'τοῖς δ' Εἰλωσί πᾶν ὑβριστικὸν ἔργον ἐπιτάττουσι πρὸς πᾶσαν ἄγον ἀτιμίαν κ. τ. λ.*

We have accordingly the following important characteristics of Myron's style: animosity displayed towards the Spartans; elements of a rhetorical style shown, for instance, in the frequent speeches; fictitious descriptions of battles; frequent anachronisms; and lastly imitations of passages in Thucydides, in Xenophon, and to some extent, I think, in Herodotus.

I shall undertake to prove, in the first place, that Pausanias is indebted to Myron for the whole of his introduction, aside from short paragraphs added by Pausanias, and for the sketch of the close of the first war, in addition to the history of the first war down to the death of Aristodemus, which is generally conceded to Myron.

On both of these positions the words of Pausanias in c. 6, which seem to deal with the limits of Myron's history, have an important bearing. Although it will be shown below that Pausanias could not have meant these words to be taken literally, yet they are stated so positively that the reader is led to suppose that Myron failed to write an introduction to his history, and that he brought the same to a close with the death of Aristodemus, five months before the end of the war. In respect to the latter point scholars have interpreted this passage in the above literal manner, although in regard to the former they grant that Myron may have written an introduction. Yet the proof this which Immerwahr, *Lakonika*, 140, finds in the assumption that Myron was also used by Diodorus as a source, does not seem to rest on a sure foundation (see II, c.); neither is it likely

that his view that the introduction in Pausanias was compiled from different sources, is correct.

II. PAUSANIAS' INTRODUCTION TAKEN FROM MYRON.

a). *Comparison between Introduction and Account of First War.*

An examination of Pausanias' introduction to the Messenian wars in the light of Myron's characteristics of style, as given above, and a comparison of this introduction with the account of the first war down to the death of Aristodemus (i. e., c. 5, 9 to c. 13. 5), will make it probable that Pausanias was indebted to Myron for the whole of his introduction.

It may be remarked at the outset that it seems incredible that Myron's history, a prose work which seemed to take in all the circumstances that pertained to the first war, should have omitted to write an introduction, but should have commenced with the taking of Ampheia (c. 6). That the contrary is true may be seen in the first place by comparing Pausanias' introduction with the account which Ephorus gave of the causes that led to the Messenian wars. Strabo, 279: "Εφωρος δ' οὕτω λέγει τερὶ τῆς κτίσεως ἐπολέμουν Λακεδαιμόνιοι Μεσσηνίους ἀποκτείνουσι τὸν βασιλέα Τηλέκλον εἰς Μεσσήνην ἀφικόμενον ἐπὶ θυσίαν, ὁμόσαντες μὴ πρότερον ἐπανήξειν οἴκαδε πρὶν ἢ Μεσσήνην ἀνελεῖν ἢ πάντας ἀποθανεῖν. The sequel to this oath is the story about the Partheniae (Strabo, l. c.), which is not in Pausanias. According to Ephorus, we notice, the killing of Teleclus was the immediate cause of the war, and the Spartans swear in consequence to destroy Messene (Μεσσήνην ἀνελεῖν).

We find the same in Diod., XV, 66: μετὰ δέ ταῦτα Τηλέκλου τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποθανόντος ἐν ἀγῶνι κατεπολεμήθησαν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ Μεσσήνιοι · τοῦτον δέ τὸν πόλεμον εἰκοσαετῇ φασὶ γενέσθαι, κατομοσαμένων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων μὴ ἀνακάμψειν εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην, ἐὰν μὴ Μεσσήνην ἔλωσι; and in Justinus, III, 4: *His igitur moribus ita brevi civitas convaluit, ut, cum Messeniis, propter stupratas virgines suas in solempni Messeniorum sacrificio* (the occasion on which Teleclus was killed, cf. Paus., c. 2), *bellum intalissent, gravissima se execratione obstrinxerint, non prius quam Messenam expugnassent, reversuros.*

All of the above is supposed to go back to Ephorus, except that Busolt does not believe that Ephorus knew anything about the violation of the maidens, of which Justinus speaks. See Enmann, *Untersuch. Pomp. Trog.*, p. 125, and Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.*, I, p. 153, 1. We find all of the above in Pausanias, but with some changes and many additions, such as we might expect to find in such an historical romance as we know Myron's *Messeniac* to have been.

The oath according to Ephorus is strictly adhered to ; not so in Pausanias (cc. 7, 7 ; 5, 8), for although Myron, his source, had recorded the oath, yet he evidently found it inconvenient to handle the narrative of the Messenian war, with the Spartans constantly on the scene.

Again we find that whereas, according to Ephorus the Spartans wish to punish the Messenians for killing Teleclus, in Pausanias this affair is allowed to pass unnoticed (c. 4, 3), and not until a generation later does the affair with Polychares take place, which becomes the immediate cause of the war. This permits a much longer discussion of the causes, and so helps to put the Spartans in a much worse light, which is in perfect accord with Myron's attitude towards them.

The Spartans' aim is, according to Strabo, 279 : Μεσσήνην ἀνελεῖν ; according to Diod., XV, 76 : μὴ ἀνακάμψειν εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην, ἐὰν μὴ Μεσσήνην ἔλωσι ; according to Just., III, 4 : *non prius quam Messenam expugnassent, reversuros*. In Pausanias, c. 5, 8, on the other hand, we read this rhetorical statement : προομνύουσιν ὄρκον μήτε τοῦ πολέμου μήκος, ἢν μὴ δι' ὀλίγου κριθῇ, μήτε τὰς συμφοράς, εἰ μεγάλοι πολεμοῦσι γένοιτο, ἀποτρέψειν σφᾶς πρὶν ἢ κτήσαιντο χώραν τὴν Μεσσηνίαν δοριάλωτον· ταῦτα προομόσαντες ἔξοδον νύκτωρ ἐποιοῦντο ἐπὶ Ἀμφειαν. Now the charge, that the Spartans wanted the Messenian land, is a controlling idea in the discussion of the causes of the war, occurring also in c. 4, 3, and c. 5, 3, the latter passage being a fierce outburst against the Spartan greed of gain. And as it is also found in the part which Pausanias, c. 6, expressly says was written by Myron, namely in cc. 7, 9 ; 7, 10 ; 8, 2, being there expressed in the speeches respectively of Theopompus, Euphaes and in the reproaches uttered

by the Messenians on the battlefield, the close connection between the introduction and the account of the first war is manifest.

Again a correspondence can be seen between these two parts, in the charge brought against the Spartans that they were the aggressors. As far back in the introduction as c. 4, 3, we read that the Spartans had not demanded satisfaction for the killing of Teleclus for the following reason: *συνειδότης ὡς ἄρξαιεν ἀδικίας*, and again (c. 4, 4), *καὶ ἤρξαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολέμου*. This same accusation is made in Myron's part, where we read (c. 6, 6) that Euphaes encouraged the Messenians after the capture of the Ampheia with the words *καὶ τὸ εὐμενέστερον ἔσεσθαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀμύνουσι τῇ οἰκείᾳ καὶ οὐκ ἀδικίας ἄρχουσιν*.

We read in the account of the war, c. 8, 2, that the Messenians consider the aggression of the Spartans all the greater as they were both of the same race, as follows: *οἱ δὲ ἐκείνους τῷ τε ἐγγχειρήματι ἀνοσίους, ἐπεὶ πλεονεξίας ἔνεκα καὶ ἐπὶ ἄνδρας συγγενεῖς ἐπίασι, κ. τ. λ.* A similar charge is brought in the introduction, c. 5, 3: *Κροίσῳ τε αὐτοῖς δῶρα ἀποστέλλαντι γενέσθαι φίλους βαρβάρῳ πρώτους, ἀφ' οὗ γε τοὺς τε ἄλλους τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ κατεδουλώσατο Ἕλληνας καὶ ὅσοι Δωριεῖς ἐν τῇ Καρικῇ κατοικοῦσιν ἠπέιρψεν*.

That Myron was guilty of anachronisms has been mentioned above. So we find in the account of the war c. 12, 2: *τοῖς βασιλεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἐφόροις*, and likewise in the introduction, c. 4, 8: *φοιτῶν ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα τοῖς ρασιλεύσιν ἦν καὶ τοῖς ἐφόροις δι' ὅχλου*; cf. also introduction, c. 5, 4. These are the only passages where Ephors are mentioned in the account of the first two Messenian wars. Busolt, I, 147, 2, says: Aus Diod., VIII, 7, und Paus., IV, 4, 5 (wahrscheinlich nach Myron von Priene), folgt natürlich *nicht*, dass schon beim Ausbruche des ersten messenischen Krieges das Ephorat bestand. Id., I, 148. Noch zur Zeit des zweiten messenischen Krieges lag, wie aus einem Tyrtaios-Fragment erhellt, die Leitung des Staates wesentlich in den Händen des Königs und der Gerusia. (Cf. also id., I, 149, 4.)

A correspondence between the introduction and the account of the first war may also be seen in the references made to the well known fraud of Cresphontes, which was not only told in its proper connection in the recital of the early history in c. 3, 3-6, but was also brought forward as one of the causes of the war in c. 5, 1, as

follows: Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν δὴ Πολυχάρους τε ἔνεκα οὐκ ἐκδοθέντος σφίσι, καὶ διὰ τὸν Τηλέκλου φόνον, καὶ πρότερον ἔτι ὑπόπτως ἔχοντες διὰ τὸ Κρεσφόντου κακούργημα ἐς τὸν κλῆρον, πολεμῆσαι λέγουσιν. Reference is clearly made to this in the account of the war in the oracle quoted, c. 12, 1: 'Ἄλλ' ἀπάτη μὲν ἔχει γαῖαν Μεσσηνίδα λαός, κ. τ. λ.

Let us now examine in succession the stories told in the introduction about Teleclus and Polychares, in each of which we shall find clear indications of Myron's style. A partisan spirit is quite manifest. In the case of Teleclus, where there are two versions, the Messenian one comes last, and is the longer; likewise in the summing up of the causes after the Polychares story (c. 5), the Spartan view is simply stated in not quite four lines, whereupon follows a fierce attack, made from the Messenian standpoint, occupying fully a page. That Pausanias is following his source here is evident (cf. especially c. 5, 5). Examine also III, 3, 1; IV, 4, 1; 4, 3; 5, 3, where he makes a show of impartiality.

b). Teleclus.

Of the two versions that are given of the Teleclus affair, the Spartan one, as Pausanias tells it (c. 4, 2), may be had by combining Strabo, 279, with 362 and 257, which would include the same description of the temple of Artemis Limnas as Pausanias gives in c. 4, 2, and III, 2, 5. At the same time Pausanias' work as a compiler can be seen in the genealogy of Teleclus, which he doubtless took from Sosibius (cf. Immerwahr, op. cit., 7 sqq.) However that may be, Pausanias is evidently following Myron in the Messenian version. In fact it does not seem to be altogether unlikely that Myron himself mentioned the Spartan version, and then continued with what he represented as the true story.

The Messenian version bears a striking resemblance to the story told in Hdt., v. 20, so that when we consider that Myron wrote a fictitious account, getting his suggestions from scraps of history, it seems possible that he followed Herodotus in composing this story. A comparison of the two stories will show the likelihood of this supposition:

Paus., c. 4, 3: Μεσσήνιοι δὲ τοῖς ἐλθοῦσι σφῶν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν πρωτεύουσιν ἐν Μεσσήνῃ κατὰ ἀξίωμα, τοῖτοισι φασὶν ἐπιβουλεύσαι Τήλεκλον, αἴτιον δὲ εἶναι τῆς χώρας τῆς Μεσσηνίας τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἐπιβουλεύοντα δὲ ἐπιλέξαι Σπαρτιατῶν, ὅποσοι πω γένεια οὐκ εἶχον, τούτους δὲ ἐσθῆτι καὶ κόσμῳ τῷ λοιπῷ σκευάσαντα ὡς παρθένους ἀναπαυομένοις τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ἐπεισαγαγεῖν, δόντα ἐγχειρίδια καὶ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἀμυνομένους τοὺς τε ἀγενεῖους νεανίσκους καὶ αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνει Τήλεκλον.

Hdt., V., 17: Μεγάβαζος δὲ . . . πέμπει ἀγγέλους ἐς Μακεδονίην ἄνδρας ἑπτὰ Πέρσας, οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν ἐκείνῳ ἦσαν δοκιμώτατοι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. ἐπέμποντο δὲ . . . αἰτήσοντες γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ; V., 20: αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἴσους τῇσι γυναιξὶ ἀριθμὸν ἄνδρας λειογενεῖους τῶν γυναικῶν ἐσθῆτι σκευάσας καὶ ἐγχειρίδια δὸς παρήγε ἔσω . . . οἱ δὲ, ἐπεὶ τέ σφεων οἱ Πέρσαι ψαύειν ἐπειρέοντο, διεργάζοντο αὐτούς.

c). *Diodorus.*

The Polychares episode involves the question whether Diodorus also used Myron as a source; for the fragments of Book VIII contain the Polychares story, and have also other matter bearing more or less resemblance to the account of the first war in Pausanias. Enmann, *op. cit.*, 123, who has been followed by Busolt, I, 135, and Immerwahr, *Lakonika*, 140, seems to have been the first to assert that Myron was a source for Diod. VIII. Although this view would throw welcome light upon the present investigation, yet a closer examination makes the truth of this assertion rather doubtful.

The passage in Diod., XV, 66, reading as follows, *ἐνιοι δὲ τὸν Ἀριστομένην γεγονέναι φασὶ κατὰ τὸν εἰκοσαετῆ πόλεμον*, has been thought to refer to Myron, for Pausanias, c. 6, tells us that Myron had made the mistake of associating Aristomenes with the first war, and so the fragment in Diod., VIII, 10, which tells of a dispute between Aristomenes and Kleonnis, one of the Messenian leaders in the first Messenian war, might seem to have been taken from Myron, with whose history it seems to agree in style. But I shall show below (c. V, a) that the tradition concerning the first

two Messenian wars had been frequently confused; besides, the following passages prove that such a confusion was widespread in the case of Aristomenes.¹ Plutarch, *Agis*, 21, says: Μεσσηνίων δὲ καὶ Θεόπομπον ὑπ' Ἀριστομένους πεσεῖν λεγόντων οὐ φασὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πληγῆναι δὲ μόνον. Two versions are implied in this passage, according to which Aristomenes was a contemporary of Theopompus, who took part in the first war. Again, in Clem. Alex., *Protrept.*, III, 42, we read: Ἀριστομένης γοῦν ὁ Μεσσήνιος τῷ Ἰθωμήτῃ Διὶ τριακοσίους ἀπέσφαξεν, τσσαύτας ὁμοῦ καὶ τοιαύτας καλλιερεῖν ὀδόμενος ἐκατόμβας ἐν οἷς καὶ Θεόπομπος ἦν ὁ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς, ἱερεῖον εὐγενές. This same passage occurs in Euseb., *Praeparat. Evang.*, IV, 16, 12. It is plain then that others besides Myron could have presented to Diodorus the confusion as to the period of Aristomenes. The reference then to the view of those who said that Aristomenes had taken part in the twenty years war, cited above from Diod., XV, 66, need not have been aimed at Myron. In fact, as the sketch of the Messenian wars given in Diod., XV, 66, was taken from Ephorus (Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.*, I, 134), it is probable that the above-mentioned view was included, for no doubt Ephorus had himself to reckon with the two opinions as to the period of Aristomenes (see c. IV, b).

As to the Kleonnis-Aristomenes fragment in Diod., VIII, it is more than doubtful whether this ought to be credited to Diodorus, for it would have been inconsistent on the part of Diodorus to represent in book VIII Aristomenes as taking part in the first war, and then to associate him with the second war in XV, 66. The fact of his referring to the other view in the latter passage argues against the plea of an oversight. Such a discrepancy in Diodorus' history would be especially remarkable if Ephorus' history served Diodorus as a source both for XV, 66, and for book VIII (Enmann, *Pomp. Trog.*, 123 ff.). Fried. Jacobs, *Verm. Schrif.*, 8^{ter} Bd., Leipzig, 1844, thought it better to restore the Kleonnis-Aristomenes fragment to the anonymous writer, under which title H. Stephanus had edited it. Kohlmann, *op. cit.*, 9, thought it was from Myron himself, which view is worthy of consideration.

¹ Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.*, I, 135, says: "Diese Geschichte [the story that Aristomenes killed Theopompos, who lived in the first war] war freilich keine dem Myron eigene Erfindung, sondern gehörte zu der Späteren messenischen Überlieferung," etc.

Diod., VIII, 6, corresponds with Paus., c. 9, 14, but only in so far as Diodorus gives in prose the oracle which is quoted by Pausanias. Verbal agreement is therefore of no consequence, for these oracles were without doubt widely known. Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.*, V, 27, 3, has the same oracle, although somewhat condensed, expressed in hexameters. A like correspondence exists between Paus., c. 12, 1, and Diod., VIII, 13, as another oracle quoted by Pausanias is also quoted by Diodorus; but here, too, Eusebius, *op. cit.*, V, 27, 1, has the same oracle, this time word for word. For the frequency of these oracles, compare Strabo, 257, where still another oracle concerning the downfall of Messenia is mentioned, and also Isocrates, *Archidam.*, 31 : *πεμφάντων ἀμφοτέρων εἰς Δελφούς.*

According to Diod., VIII, 6, the occasion for sending to the oracle was partly owing to the howling of the dogs. In Paus., c. 13, 1, the howling of dogs is also mentioned, but in an entirely different connection (see c. V, *a*). Moreover, the cavilling in this passage of Diodorus at the efficiency of the seers does not harmonize with the respect shown Epebolus, nor with the sending of Tisis to Delphi, who was also a seer, nor with the religious tone generally in Pausanias' account.

There is one small fragment, *i. e.*, Diod., VIII, 13, 2, whose contents are to the effect that the Spartans do not require long exhortations, and the Messenians trust to their valor, which, it is true, would agree very well with Myron's account; but it is rather general in its application, and could easily belong to another source.

The examination of the fragments so far shows that there is not sufficient evidence in them to prove that Diodorus drew on Myron for his account of the first Messenian war. The decision in the case of the Polychares fragment must be made therefore upon the merits of the latter alone.

d). Polychares.

We shall find on examining this fragment that on the one hand the differences between the two versions are too great for Myron to have been the source of both of them, and on the other hand that Pausanias' version harmonizes with what is known of Myron's style.

The Polychares story is only found in Pausanias and Diodorus, and, as regards the essentials, is about the same in both of these writers. But the mere telling of the same story is no proof of the identity of the source, as the essentials could have been found in different writers just as we find them now in Pausanias and in Diodorus. Moreover, in comparing the two stories, differences in detail can be observed, and it will also be evident that the one in Pausanias is favorable to the Messenians, whereas the other has a flavor of Spartan sympathy.

The differences in the two versions cannot be due to either Diodorus or Pausanias, for the former tells his story in the acc. and inf., and has evidently given a condensation; and we know of the latter that his literary activity consisted mainly in condensing and compiling. Besides those parts wherein Pausanias differs from Diodorus are mainly in the line of animosity shown towards the Spartans. Accordingly the avariciousness of Euaephnus, which is an intrinsic part of the story, is merely stated in Diodorus, but sharply criticised in Pausanias (cf. p. 19).

Both versions have by accident the same length, i. e., 35 lines of the Teubner text. This however is brought about by the expanding of different parts of the story in the respective accounts. In Diodorus the conviction of Euaephnus is the principal part; in Pausanias this part is not only meagrely treated, but different. So we find that in Diodorus all the herdsmen escape and come back to Polychares; in Pausanias only one. In Diodorus, after they have told their story they are concealed by Polychares, who sends for Euaephnus, and while this one is telling a fabricated story, Polychares confronts him with the escaped herdsmen. This marks a climax in Diodorus' account, and has dramatic power. In Pausanias the single herdsman who escaped finds Euaephnus already with Polychares, which is tame. In Diodorus Polychares' son, who is to be murdered, is only mentioned when he is sent with Euaephnus to receive the money for the cattle. In Pausanias Euaephnus pleads with the son as well as with the father to be forgiven, and then asks that the son go with him in order to receive the money, which makes the crime of Euaephnus in killing the young man appear all the blacker. In fact, the murder of Polychares' son forms a climax in Pausanias' account; in Diodorus it is told without color.

Finally, according to Diodorus, Polychares demands that the culprit be delivered up to him; but the Lacedaemonians send the son of *Euaephnus* to him with a letter, asking him to come to Sparta and lay his complaint before the Ephors and kings. Then Polychares commits a crime in his turn, and murders the son of *Euaephnus*, thus bringing destruction on his country. The story in Diodorus is clearly intended to bring discredit on the Messenians. According to Pausanias Polychares goes repeatedly to the kings and Ephors, and complains bitterly of his wrongs, and only after he finds that no attention is paid him does he become desperate and then kills every Lacedaemonian that falls into his hands.

We have thus seen that Diodorus' version of the Polychares story could not have been derived from Myron. At the same time the strong Messenian bias in Pausanias' version, and the intimate connection and harmony of this story with the rest of the discussion concerning the causes of the war, make it highly probable that Myron served Pausanias also as a source for this part of the introduction.

We have found, on examining the introduction and comparing it with the account of the war, that there are a number of striking resemblances in these two parts. So we find, not to mention other points, the same charges made against the Spartans in the introduction that are referred to in the account of the war: moreover, the same partisanship, the same elaboration of detail, and the same style of romancing. If we read continuously, we shall find that there is no break at the place where the war begins, but all is closely linked together. The conclusion, therefore, seems justified that, leaving aside some minor additions, Pausanias did not compile his introduction to the Messenian wars from different sources, but that he depended entirely on Myron.

III. PAUSANIAS' SKETCH OF THE CLOSE OF THE FIRST WAR.

Let us now turn our attention to the end of Myron's history of the first war, which must have been strangely cut short, if we are to trust to Pausanias, c. 6: *ὁ μὲν τῆς τε Ἀμφείας τὴν ἄλωσιν καὶ τὰ ἐφεξῆς συνέθηκεν, οὐ πρόσω τῆς Ἀριστοδήμου τελευτῆς*. These

words seem to have been taken literally by most scholars. So Enmann, *Trog. Pomp.*, 124, says: "Myron hatte den ersten Krieg nur bis zum Tode des Aristodemus erzählt (Paus., IV, 6, 2). In Folge dessen lässt es Pausanias ganz im Unklaren, wie der Krieg schliesslich geendet habe (Paus., IV, 13, 6)." That Pausanias himself did not take his own words literally can be seen in c. 23, 6: *μετώκησε δὲ Ἀλκιδαμίδας ἐκ Μεσσήνης ἐς Ῥήγιον μετὰ τὴν Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ βασιλέως τελευτὴν καὶ Ἰθώμης τὴν ἄλωσιν.* Here the death of Aristodemus and the fall of Ithome, events separated only by the space of five months, are treated as contemporaneous. If Myron had omitted to extend his history to the capture of Ithome, where could Pausanias have found an account of the end of the war as he gives it; very much condensed it is true, yet in perfect accord with the previous history? For we must remember that Myron's account was to a large extent fictitious.

A detailed examination of the text of Pausanias will show the close agreement with the previous history, c. 13, 5: *τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις ἀπεγνώκεναι τὰ πράγματα παρίστατο, ὥστε καὶ ὥρμησαν ἰκεσίαν ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀποστέλλειν οὕτω σφόδρα κατέπληξεν αὐτοὺς ἢ τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου τελευτῇ. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὁ θυμὸς ἐπέσχευεν αὐτοὺς μὴ ποιῆσαι.* The anger of the Messenians is a marked feature of Myron's account (see p. 19 and c. VI, a). Continuing, we find in c. 13, 5: *συλλεγόντες δὲ ἐς ἐκκλησίαν βασιλέα μὲν οὐδένα, Δᾶμιν δὲ στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα εἵλουντο.* This democratic feature of the assembly was also peculiar to Myron, as the following passages will show: cc. 5, 6; 6, 6; 9, 1; 9, 3; 9, 4; 12, 5. The freedom of speech implied in the above passages gave of course to Myron, the rhetorician, the desired opportunities to compose orations. There is no trace of the *ἐκκλησία* in the account of the second war. Having called the assembly, c. 13, 5, they elect a leader as follows: *βασιλέα μὲν οὐδένα, Δᾶμιν δὲ στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα εἵλουντο · ὁ δὲ Κλέωννιν τε αὐτῷ καὶ Φυλέα ἐλόμενος συνάρχοντας κ. τ. λ.* Compare with this c. 10, 6, where Aristodemus, on becoming king, shows marked attention to Kleonnis and Damis, who have been his rivals. It was then quite natural that Damis should later follow the precedent set by the king.

The text continues: *[Δᾶμις] παρεσκευάζετο ὥς καὶ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων συνάψων μάχην · ἐπηνάγκαζε γὰρ ἥ τε πολιορκία καὶ*

οὐχ ἥκιστα ὁ λιμὸς καὶ [τὸ] ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δέος, μὴ καὶ προδιαφθαρῶσιν ὑπὸ ἐνδείας. This fighting before the walls of the besieged Ithome seems to have been a feature of Myron's history. At no time did the Spartans actually attack the walls of this stronghold; but even after retiring to Ithome all the fighting is done outside of the walls. It was different at the siege of Eira, for there the walls were scaled with ladders (c. 21, 1).

The text continues: ἀρετῇ μὲν δὴ καὶ τολμήμασιν οὐδὲ τότε ἀπεδέησε τὰ τῶν Μεσσηνίων ἀπέθανον δὲ οἳ τε στρατηγοὶ σφισιν ἅπαντες καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ λόγου μάλιστα ἄξιοι. This heroism of the Messenians is the same that is displayed in the previous chapters. Finally we read: τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦτου μῆνας μὲν πέντε μάλιστα ἀντέσχον. περὶ δὲ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν λήγοντα ἐξέλιπον τὴν Ἰθώμην, πολεμήσαντες ἔτη τὰ πάντα ἑικοσι, καθὰ δὴ καὶ Τυρταῖφ πεποιημένα ἐστίν.

εἰκοστῷ δ'οἱ μὲν κατὰ πύονα ἔργα λιπόντες
φεύγον Ἰθωμαίων ἐκ μεγάλων ὁρέων.

It is not simply stated here that they fought twenty years; but the time is measured out with care, so that we are made to see that the Messenians left Ithome at the close of the twentieth year. This seems to show that Pausanias followed Myron in writing the conclusion of the war; but, as usual, found in Ephorus (see c. IV, b) the verses of Tyrtaeus, which he quotes. And as Ephorus interpreted these verses to mean that the war lasted nineteen years (cf. Strabo, 279: Μεσσήνη δὲ ἐάλω πολεμηθεῖσα ἐννεακαίδεκα ἔτη καθάπερ καὶ Τυρταῖός φησιν "ἀμφ' αὐτὴν κ. τ. λ.), this may be the very reason why Pausanias, in adopting the usual number of twenty years, as Myron no doubt had it (cf. c. 12, 7: καὶ γὰρ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος ἐπῆρει τῷ πολέμῳ), laid some stress on this very point in opposition to Ephorus' nineteen years, and, curiously, chose the last two verses from a quotation from Tyrtaeus, which Ephorus had (Strabo, 279) to prove this, although he quotes the other verses a few chapters below (c. 15, 2), as follows: ἀμφ' αὐτὴν δ' ἐμάχοντ' ἐννέα καὶ δέκ' ἔτη, κ. τ. λ.

The above discussion shows, I think, that Myron did continue his history to the end of the war. The account Pausanias gives is probably very much condensed, and no doubt also full of omissions,

just as we find the allusions Euphaes makes (c. 7, 10-11) to the horrors suffered by the inhabitants of Ampheia at the hands of the Lacedaemonians not fully justified by the account of its capture (c. 5, 9). It would have been unaccountable if Myron had really ended his history with the death of Aristodemus, in view of the comparatively broad manner in which he has treated the first war.

It is however not so difficult to understand why Pausanias should have mentioned the death of Aristodemus instead of the capture of Ithome. For, as the narrative reaches its climax with the death of Aristodemus, and the end was then so near that Pausanias considered the fall of Ithome as happening at the same time (see p. 23), it may be that Pausanias fixed the end of the war with the most important event. But there may have been also the following reasons: Myron did not represent the war he described as the *first* war (see c. V, a), nor did his history end with the fall of Ithome, as will be shown below. Therefore Pausanias had to construct a transition from Myron's history to an account of the second war, and probably found it difficult to find a suitable point from which to bridge over. For that reason he directed his attention to the death of Aristodemus as the virtual conclusion of the first war, and condensed the final outcome so as hardly to mention the exiles, which probably made a transition to the second war easier.

That Myron also wrote of the banishment of the Messenians is very probable, since I have shown that he extended his history to the capture of Ithome. This probability is strengthened when we observe that the exiles sought refuge with the Sicyonians, Argives and Arcadians, who had been the allies of the Messenians, and we consider that this alliance was probably the fiction of Myron (see c. V, c).

But this departure of the Messenians from Ithome implies that the Spartans allowed them to leave under a truce. Now we read in Thucydides, I, 103, that at the end of the third war the Messenians were allowed to depart, which may easily have been the source for the idea that at the end of the first and second wars (c. 14, 1 and c. 21, 12) the Messenians were allowed each time to depart. The account of Rhianus cannot be considered historical, and there

seems to be no other evidence outside of Pausanias that the Messenians left their country at the end of the first war, although we see in Strabo, 257, and Heracl. Pont., *Pol.* (Müller, *Frag. Hist. Gr.*, 219), that there had been some Messenian fugitives *before* the first war. Accordingly, we read in the sketch of the Messenian wars given by Diodorus, XV, 66, only of the banishment after the third war.

It therefore appears likely that Pausanias had no other source for the exile after the first war than Myron, who, as we have seen (p. 12), used Thucydides as a model. A sign of this dependence may be seen in c. 14, 4, where it is stated that the Lacedaemonians made the Messenians swear not to revolt, which seems a somewhat useless exaction, and was probably an imitation of Thuc., I, 103, according to which passage the Messenians are allowed to depart *on condition* that they should never return to the Peloponnesus under penalty of becoming the slave of whosoever might capture them.

IV. THE SOURCES FOR CHAPTERS XIV–XVII OTHER THAN MYRON.

a). I next undertake to investigate the sources which Pausanias used in writing the first half of the second Messenian war. We have therefore to do with the chapters which lie between the close of the first war, which Myron described, and the beginning of Rhianus' epic (i. e., cc. 14–17, 10). According to c. 6, Pausanias had neither Myron nor Rhianus to depend on for this part, as the former had nothing to say about the second war, and Rhianus' poem must have begun with the siege of Eira (c. 17, 11).

It is easy to see that Pausanias used no single source for filling in these chapters. In the first place, with regard to the duration of the war, there exists a discrepancy between the *account* in Pausanias, according to which it lasted fourteen years, and the *dates* given by him, according to which it lasted seventeen years. A sign of Pausanias' greater activity in these chapters can be seen in the more frequent employment of the first person (cf. cc. 14, 78; 15, 2; 15, 3; 16, 6; 16, 7). Then in c. 14, 2, he repeats, with some slight changes, a passage which occurs in III, 18, 8.

The sources which Pausanias used in writing chapters cc. 14-17, 10, seem to have been Ephorus, Sosibius, Rhianus, and more particularly, as I shall show in c. V, Myron. I shall take them up in order.

b). Ephorus and Tyrtaeus.

Kohlmann (op. cit., 23), thought that Pausanias had drawn on Ephorus and Diodorus for these chapters, but that the quotations were taken from Tyrtaeus at first hand. I think, however, that Ephorus was used only to a slight extent, and that chiefly to get the quotations from Tyrtaeus.

That Pausanias was familiar with the history of Ephorus, although he does not mention his name, is *a priori* quite likely, as Ephorus' history was widely read and largely excerpted by later historians, owing no doubt in a great measure to convenient arrangement. But there is also direct proof that Pausanias made extracts from him in book III (cf. Immerwahr, op. cit. 11 and 17), and, as the frequent references show, this book was closely associated in Pausanias' mind with the one under consideration. Cf. III, 1, 1-5; 2, 6; 3, 1-4; 7, 4-5; 11, 8; 13, 1; 14, 4; 15, 10; 18, 7; 20, 6; 26, 3; 26, 6-8.

Now as Myron had included Aristomenes in his account of the first war, and this same Aristomenes was the chief figure in Rhianus' poem, Pausanias had to decide which of these two to follow. He accordingly gives some reasons in c. 6 why he intends to follow Rhianus; but as Rhianus dealt only with a part of the war, and was himself untrustworthy, according to Pausanias' own statement, we must look elsewhere for some clear guide, who could map out the first and second wars, and show from the proper position of Aristomenes that Rhianus was the one to be followed. Ephorus could have been that guide, for he gives a sketch of the two wars, and distinctly states that Aristomenes took part in the second war (Diod., XV, 66).

As to the quotations from Tyrtaeus, these have been pretty generally looked upon as being at first hand. Yet we cannot trust Pausanias in this respect, for, as Enmann (*Jahrb. f. Phil.*, 129, p.

519) says, we must expect Pausanias to have made use of the labors of others, or else he would never have succeeded in collecting such a great mass of learning. Besides, there are other quotations in Pausanias which seem to be at first hand, although taken from an intermediate source.

Thus in c. 1 there are quotations from Homer which are at second hand, although they seem to have been made independently, and although Pausanias would make us believe that he was especially well versed in Homer. In II, 21, 10, he says: *πρόσκειμαι γὰρ πλέον τι ἢ οἱ λοιποὶ τῇ Ὀμήρου ποιήσει*; and in II, 4, 2: *ἐγὼ τε πείθομαι καὶ ὅστις τὰ Ὀμήρου μὴ πάρεργον ἐπελέξατο*. And yet, on comparing Paus., c. 1, with Strabo, 364, it is plain that both passages go back ultimately to the same source, which was probably Aristarchus (cf. Sengebusch, *Jahrbücher f. Cl. Phil.*, 1853, p. 615). Enmann and L. v. Sybel have shown the close resemblance between Pausanias and Strabo generally in Homeric geography, a resemblance due to their common source.

Now we know that Ephorus based his history on the verses of Tyrtæus (cf. O. Müller, *Dorier*, I, 149, 3; Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* I, 134; Enmann, *Trog. Pomp.*, 126); and we find in Strabo, 279, under Ephorus' name, the same verses from Tyrtæus which are quoted by Pausanias (c. 13, 6, and c. 15, 2). As regards the former of these passages it must be observed that Pausanias separated the verses from their proper connection in order to make his own application of them (see p. 25). This he did likewise with the verses of Homer mentioned above, whose application in Pausanias is different from that in Strabo. Again, the verses of Tyrtæus quoted in c. 14, 5, which tell of the sufferings of the Messenians, were no doubt also quoted by Ephorus, as they are indicated in Justinus, III, 5 (cf. Enmann, *Trog. Pomp.*): *Dein, cum per annos octoginta gravia servitutis verbera, plerumque et vincula, ceteraque captivitatis mala perpessi essent, post longam poenarum patientiam, bellum instaurant.*

It seems also reasonable to suppose that the quotation (c. 6, 5) from Tyrtæus,

Ἡμετέρῳ βασιλῇ θεοῖσι φίλῳ Θεοπόμπῳ,
Ὀν διὰ Μεσσήνην εἴλομεν εὐρύχορον,

was taken from Ephorus. Pausanias cited them to demonstrate that Theopompus had survived the first war, thus showing the inaccuracy of Myron, according to whom Theopompus had been killed before the death of Aristodemus by Aristomenes (see c. II, c). But Ephorus had in all probability to deal with the same question as to the period of Aristomenes, and so the statement in Diod., XV, 66: *ἐνιοι δὲ τὸν Ἀριστομένην γεγονέναι φασὶ κατὰ τὸν εἰκοσαετῆ πόλεμον*, was in all likelihood taken from Ephorus with the rest of that sketch.

Again, when Pausanias in c. 15, 2-3, seems to reason out the interval between the first two wars on the basis of the verses of Tyrtaeus, we shall be safe in attributing this use of these verses to his imitation of Ephorus, who quotes the same verses (Strabo, 279), and had to make a similar calculation. If Pausanias had to make his quotations from Tyrtaeus independently we might expect to see some feeling for the Spartans displayed, but there is none of this, and Tyrtaeus himself is but a shadowy figure in the pages of Pausanias.

c). *Sosibius.*

Pausanias did, however, not follow Ephorus in his chronology, who placed the first war much earlier than 743 B. C. (Paus., c. 5, 10; Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.*, I., 151), and made the interval between the first and second war eighty years (cf. Enmann, *op. cit.*, 126). It is the chronology of Sosibius which Pausanias follows. Kohlmann was the first to show this by pointing out that the dates for the first war, which Pausanias gives, agree with the chronology of Sosibius; and Immerwahr, following up the work done by Weber,¹ has shown that a work on genealogy by Sosibius had been extensively used by Pausanias in book III, and probably to some extent in book IV. He also makes it appear highly probable that the chronology of Sosibius had been used for the second war. Yet Immerwahr lays rather too much stress upon the use Pausanias made of Sosibius in the *Messeniaca*. See Immerwahr, *Lakonika*, 138, sqq.

¹ *Quaestionum Laconicarum Capita Duo.* Gottingae, 1887.

d). *Reasons why Ephorus' History not used more Extensively.*

But why should Pausanias not use Ephorus' history more extensively if he had it before him? Simply because it was so widely known, and the plan of Pausanias was to avoid telling over again at length what other well known authors had described before him. In VIII, 43, 4, he refrains from going into details; for he says: *τάδε μὲν ἄλλοι ἔγραψαν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον*; likewise in I, 23, 10: *τὰ δὲ ἐς Ἑρμόλुकον τὸν παγκρατιαστὴν καὶ Φορμίωνα τὸν Ἀσωπίχου γραφάντων ἐτέρων παρίημι*; yet he is ever ready to make additions to what is generally known, so he continues: *ἐς δὲ Φορμίωνα τοσόνδε ἔχω πλέον γράψαι*. In X, 17, we find three and three-fourths pages on the island of Sardinia; his reason for this long digression being that this island was little known to the Greeks, just as it has been comparatively little known in modern times¹ (cf. also II, 30, 10; III, 17, 7; III, 18, 10). Now it was the highly colored narrative of Myron and the epic of Rhianus which Pausanias recognized as being less known, and which he therefore was quite willing to draw upon.

But I must add another reason why Pausanias would prefer the accounts of Myron and Rhianus, and that is because they were written from the Messenian point of view. It was evidently part of the plan of Pausanias to let each people of the different countries which he described speak for themselves, even in the historical introductions, which, as is generally accepted, were taken from literary sources. As regards the use of *verba dicendi* where literary sources are at hand, Gurlitt (op. cit., c. 1, N. 48) has shown that this was a matter of style with Pausanias and not of deception. Observe the following passages—I, 41, 4: *ἐγὼ δὲ γράφειν μὲν ἐθέλω Μεγαρεῦσιν ὁμολογοῦντα*, 41, 7: *γράψω δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν ὅποια Μεγαρεῖς λέγουσιν*. In the *Corinthiaka* he appeals to the Corinthians, II, 1: *Διὸς δὲ εἶναι Κόρινθον οὐδένα οἶδα εἰπόντα πω σπονδῇ πλὴν Κορινθίων τῶν πολλῶν*; II, 4, 6: *Ἥλιου δέ, ὡς οἱ Κοφίνθιοι φασιν*. Likewise he appeals to the Sicyonians in II, 5, 6: *Σικυνῶνιοι δὲ, οὗτοι γὰρ ταύτῃ Κορινθίοις εἰσὶν ὁμοιοί, περὶ τῆς χώρας τῆς σφετέρας λέγουσιν*. Having come to Argos

¹ Daniel, *Lehrbuch. d. Geogr.*, 1882, p. 212.

he lets the Argives speak for themselves (II, 21, 8), though following right upon an account of Gorgophone, who is spoken of again in III, 1, 4, and c. 2, 4, an account very probably taken from a literary source. On coming to Lacedaemon we read, III, 1, 1 : *ὥς δὲ αὐτοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, Δέλεξ αὐτόχθων*, which heads the current genealogy ; and it is not likely that Pausanias here neglected the already existing genealogical lists and prepared a new one (cf. Kalkmann, *Paus. d. Perieget*, 15).

A curious example illustrating Pausanias' plan to let each people tell its own story, even when literary sources were used, is seen in the account of the mother of Asclepius. In II, 26, 6-9, Pausanias accepts the story that the Epidaurians tell and rejects the Messenian version, and says : *ὁ δὲ τρίτος τῶν λόγων ἡκιστα, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ἀληθής ἐστιν, Ἀρσινόης ποιήσας εἶναι τῆς Λευκίππου παῖδα Ἀσκληπιόν, κ. τ. λ.* And again : *οὗτος ὁ χρησμὸς δηλοὶ μάλιστα οὐκ ὄντα Ἀσκληπιὸν Ἀρσινόης, ἀλλὰ Ἡσιόδου ἢ τῶν τινὰ ἐμπεποιηκότων ἐς τὰ Ἡσιόδου τὰ ἔπη συνθέντα ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίων χάριν.* Yet on turning to c. 32, we read : *Ἀρσινόης γὰρ Ἀσκληπιὸν τῆς Λευκίππου καὶ οὐ Κορωνίδος παῖδα εἶναι* ; again, in c. 31, 12 : *Ἀσκληπιός, Ἀρσινόης ὦν λόγῳ τῷ Μεσσηνίων.* In III, 26, 4, the Messenian version is also mentioned without dispute ; here we must remember the intimate connection between books III and IV. That Pausanias had not forgotten the Epidaurian version is made certain by the words *καὶ οὐ Κορωνίδος παῖδα εἶναι*, nor is it likely that he would have forgotten when we consider the emphatic rejection of the Messenian version in II, 26, 6-9.

The apparent change of his opinion is explained simply by the fact that he wishes each people to tell its own story. Now the accounts of Myron and Rhianus were both written from the Messenian point of view, and hence were accepted by Pausanias as utterances of Messenians.

e). *Rhianus.*

Although Rhianus did not write about the battles that preceded the retreat to Eira, yet just as he is quoted in c. 1, 6, so it is very likely that Rhianus furnished some material for these intervening chapters. Thus in c. 14, 7, the mother of Aristomenes, Nikoteleia, is mentioned ; but from Stephanus Byzantinus we learn that

Rhianus had mentioned her in his fourth book (s. v. *Δώριον*). Yet Pausanias has here only a fragmentary notice, as can be seen by the matter that follows, which has been partly given in III, 10, 3. Immerwahr suggests that Rhianus furnished in c. 17, 1, the story of the expedition to Aigila, where Aristomenes is captured by women, and liberated by Archidameia, an old love of his (cf. Polyden., II, 31, 2); but this may be doubted, because a romance like that could very well have belonged to Myron's story. See also c. VI, *b*, for the significance of the fact that Demeter enters into this anecdote. But no doubt there were other touches here and there, introduced into these chapters from Rhianus, as *viz.*, the names of the seers Theoclus and Hecae.

V. MYRON THE CHIEF SOURCE FOR CHAPTERS XIV–XVII¹⁰

a). Myron used Tradition that pertained to the Second War.

To a much larger extent, however, was Myron's history used. Before showing this in detail it will be necessary to explain how this was possible; for, as it is generally understood, Myron wrote only the history of the first war. Above (p. 12) it was pointed out that Myron wrote rather a romance than a history. To this fact must be added another, *viz.*, that Myron made use of the tradition relating to the second war as well as of that which pertained to the first.

That Myron should have ignored the existence of the second Messenian war, although the verses of Tyrtæus clearly show that there had been two early wars, is not at all unlikely, for there are passages from other writers which likewise overlook the existence of the second war. To understand this it must be observed that it was only natural that the minds of men would revert to the war through which the Messenians first lost their liberty. Thus Isocrates, *Archidam.*, 57, refers only to the first war. Likewise Plutarch, *De Superstitione*, 8, in making a reference to the war in which Aristodemus figured (*i. e.*, the first war), makes no distinction between a first and a second war, but simply refers to "the war with the Lacedaemonians."

Again we read in Plutarch, *De S. N. V.*, p. 548, F: τί γὰρ Μεσσηνίοις ὄφελος τοῖς προανωρεθείσι τῆς Ἀριστοκράτους τιμωρίας, ὃς προδοὺς τὴν ἐπὶ Τάφρῳ μάχην καὶ λαθὼν ὑπὲρ εἴκοσιν ἔτη καὶ . . . ὕστερον ἔδωκε δίκην. Here Aristocrates, who betrayed the Messenians, according to Paus., c. 17, in the second war, is placed in the first. The first war is evidently the one referred to in this passage, for the second war lasted at most only seventeen years, and Aristocrates, according to Pausanias (c. 22), was punished soon after the capture of Eira: that is, eleven years after his betrayal. It must of course be admitted that, even if Plutarch is made to refer to the first war, the lapse of twenty years before the punishment of Aristocrates cannot be made out, because the betrayal would have taken place about five years after the beginning of the war; but in a loose reference such as the above evidently was, the period of twenty years was probably suggested by the fact that the first war was known as a twenty years war.

Another very striking confusion of the two wars is to be found in Suidas, where Tyrtæus is associated with the twenty years war (see c. V, d). Finally, that others besides Myron had connected Aristomenes with the first war has been shown above (see p. 11).

Further evidence to show that the two wars were not sharply defined in tradition can be found in the similar features which appear in Myron's and Rhianus' account; or, perhaps, this similarity merely shows that Myron made no distinction. In the first place, we must call to mind that Pausanias omitted all that related to Aristomenes from his account of the first war. But even so, we see that raids, which mode of carrying on war was peculiar to Aristomenes in the second war, were also made in the first, as Pausanias tells it (cf. c. 7, 1, *sqq.* and c. 10, 7, with c. 18, 1, *sqq.*). Nearly all the exploits of Aristomenes were performed with small bodies of picked men. The Messenians are called *λογάδες* in the first war (c. 11, 4), although there is no mention of Aristomenes.

Again, we find in both accounts mention of the desperation of the Messenians. This was natural enough from the point of view of the known outcome of these wars (cf. cc. 6, 6; 8, 4, with c. 21, 5). Likewise we have heroic sacrifice in both accounts. In the

first war Tisis delivers his message and dies (c. 9, 4); Aristodemus sacrifices his daughter (c. 9, 8); Euphaes dies a heroic death (c. 10, 3); Aristodemus commits suicide (c. 13, 4). In the second war Theoclus rushes into the enemies' lines and is slain (c. 21, 10); Euergetides with fifty volunteers allows himself to be cut to pieces by the Spartans (c. 23, 2). In both wars seers are active. In the first war (c. 10, 5), Epebolus and Ophioneus oppose the election of Aristodemus; in the second Theoclus and Hecas take a prominent part.

In the account of Myron, as well as in that of Rhianus, the contending parties look upon the Messenian territory as already belonging to the Lacedaemonians (cf. c. 7, 1, with c. 18, 1). This appears a little strange in Myron's account, because Messenia had not yet been conquered, and such an event was at that time (c. 7, 1) remote.

Again, in both accounts the howling of dogs is associated with the close of the respective wars (*i. e.*, c. 13, 1, and c. 21, 1). In Plut. *De Superstitione*, 8, the howling of dogs is mentioned in a passage which bears a strong resemblance to Paus., c. 13, 1; so much so that Plutarch must have drawn either from Myron or, what is more probable, from Myron's source. On the other hand, in Diod., VIII, 6, the howling of dogs is also mentioned as taking place in the first war, but in a different connection from that in Paus., c. 13, 1, which illustrates very well the confused condition of the tradition.

For the occurrence of Corinthians in both accounts see c. V, c, end.

Cretan archers figure as allies of the Lacedaemonians in Myron's account as well as in that of Rhianus (cf. cc. 8, 3; 8, 12; 10, 1; with cc. 19, 4; 20, 8). This must have been overlooked by O. Müller, *Dorier*, I, 144, 6, who says: "Die Kretischen Bogenschützen hat Rhianus aus seiner Heimat hinein gebracht; es gab gewiss da so früh keine Söldlinge," which remark was adopted by Meineke, *Abhandlungen*, Berlin, 1832, and Kohlmann, *op. cit.* 19. For the fact that Cretans also play a rôle in Myron's account seems to imply that they figured in the tradition. And yet Cretans are mentioned as hired troops in Thuc., VII, 57, 9, and as archers *ibid.*, VI, 25, 2, and 43, which is significant for Myron since he

worked out his history, as Busolt has shown, from a frame-work which he derived from Thucydides and Xenophon (see p. 12).

In c. 6 Pausanias almost tells us that Myron had written of the first two Messenian wars as if they had constituted but one. We can plainly see in this chapter, where Pausanias discusses the works of Myron and Rhianus, the influence of both these writers: that of Rhianus in the reference to the Iliad (c. 6, 13) and the Trojan war (c. 6, 1); that of Myron in the sentence (c. 6, 3): 'Αριστομένην, ὃς καὶ πρῶτος καὶ μάλιστα τὸ Μεσσήνης ὄνομα ἐς ἀξίωμα προήγαγε, τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα ἐπεισήγαγε μὲν ὁ Πριηνεὺς ἐς τὴν συγγραφὴν. The attribute *πρῶτος* could have been applied by Pausanias to Aristomenes only in case this one had figured in the first war, for otherwise Euphaes and Aristodemus would have preceded him. Now it was, in my opinion, the influence of Myron which induced Pausanias (c. 6) to speak of the two wars together as one war. This he does very clearly (c. 6, 1), and it is easy to see him gradually making a distinction. After speaking several times of the two wars together as one, he makes the statement (c. 6, 2) that Myron wrote only from the taking of Ampheia to the death of Aristodemus, and then calls that part of the first war. Such a development would have been superfluous if Myron's history had not contained so much tradition that pertained to the second war.

b). Certain parts dealing with Aristomenes from Myron.

Let us now see what parts of cc. 14-17, 10, can be referred to Myron. Most of the passages will naturally contain matter concerning Aristomenes, for he was the hero of the second war. Pausanias (c. 6) tells us that Rhianus' poem began with the events after the battle of the Great Trench (c. 17), and on the other hand that Myron had included Aristomenes in his history, and adds: ὁ τοίνυν Ἀριστομένης δόξῃ γε ἐμῇ γέγονεν ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ ὑστέρου, καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν, ἐπειδὴν ἐς τοῦτο ὁ λόγος ἀφίκεται, τηνικαῦτα ἐπέξειμι.

According to Diod., XV, 66, Aristomenes *alone* persuaded the Messenians to revolt, which agrees with the prominence Rhianus assigns to him, and is justified by Polybius (IV, 33), who calls the second one the "war of Aristomenes." But in Pausanias others

besides Aristomenes urged the Messenians to revolt (c. 14, 6-8), which agrees with Myron's history, where the whole Messenian people are prominently brought out. Moreover, the words in c. 14, 6-7, *ἐνήγον δὲ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐς τοῦτο καὶ οἱ νεώτεροι, πολέμου μὲν ἔτι ἀπείρως ἔχοντες . . . Ἐπετράφη δὲ νεότης καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ τῆς Μεσσηνίας, οἱ δὲ ἄριστοι καὶ ἀριθμὸν πλεῖστοι περὶ τὴν Ἀνδανίαν*, remind one of Thuc., II, 8: *τότε δὲ καὶ νεότης πολλή μὲν οὖσα ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ, πολλή δ' ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις οὐκ ἀκουσίως ὑπὸ ἀπειρίας ἤπτετο τοῦ πολέμου κ. τ. λ.*, and it was shown above that Myron depended on Thucydides. That Aristomenes was not the only one of the youth of Andania who played a prominent part can be seen in the story about Panormus and Gonippus (cf. c. 27, 1). We also read that Aristomenes was elected to be king, but refused the title, whereupon they made him *στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ* (c. 15, 4). This statement seems strange in this place, when we consider that Aristomenes in the second war, from first to last, directed the war, and there was no king nor general to share his power. On the other hand, this title would have been quite suitable in the first war, where there were kings to wield the chief power, so that Aristomenes could have carried on his guerilla warfare. Besides we have seen above that the title *στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ* occurred in Myron's history (cf. p. 23).

The passage (c. 16, 3) telling about Aristomenes and his picked men at the battle of Capron Sema, was probably derived from Myron. Pausanias says in c. 16, 3: *Κατὰ δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀριστομένην εἶχεν οὕτω · λογάδες περὶ αὐτὸν ὀγδοήκοντα ἦσαν Μεσσηνίων, κ. τ. λ.*; but in the Rhianus part, c. 18, 1, we read: *Ἀριστομένης δὲ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν λογάδας ἐς τριακοσίων ἀριθμὸν προήγαγεν*. Now in Thuc., VI, 43, we find: *τοξόταις δὲ τοῖς πᾶσιν ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ τετρακοσίους (καὶ τούτων Κρήτες οἱ ὀγδοήκοντα ἦσαν)*, where a select company of eighty is made conspicuous. We have seen above (p. 34) that Myron had possibly introduced Cretans into his account from Thucydides.

At the battle of the Great Trench, at which the Arcadian king Aristocrates betrayed the Messenians, Aristomenes, according to

Pausanias, led his countrymen. We have already seen the likelihood that Plutarch had associated this event with the twenty years' war (p. 32). The following considerations point clearly to Myron as Pausanias' source for this battle. Almost the first words of this account seem noteworthy (c. 17, 2): *καὶ Μεσσηνίοις Ἀρκάδων βεβηθηκότων ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων*, when compared with a passage in the account of the first war (c. 11, 1): *τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις οἳ τε Ἀρκάδες πανστρατιᾷ*, for it seems very improbable that the *whole* of Arcadia would have participated in these struggles, and we may see, therefore, in this a bit of Myron's romancing. Then, upon the statement that the Lacedaemonians bribed the Arcadian king Aristocrates, follows (c. 17, 3-5) a long tirade against the Spartans, who are said to have been the first to resort to bribery in war. The animosity displayed here is quite of a piece with that which has been shown to have been so prominent a feature in Myron's history. Besides it must be remembered that Pausanias' own attitude was that of an impartial historian (see c. VI, *a*, end). The threat of retribution made in c. 17, 6, also agrees with Myron's history (see c. VII, *b*). In c. 17, 6, there are indications that Aristocrates delivered a speech. In c. 17, 7, the Eleans, Argives and Sicyonians are mentioned, which allies (as will be shown below) were very probably spoken of *only* in Myron's account.

In c. 17, 8, follows a detail which, by its very strangeness, reminds one of c. 7, where the Messenians, who are stationed before an *impassable* trench, made a rampart of stakes, not only on their flanks and on their rear, but also on their *front*. Here we are told that the Arcadians, who occupied the left wing and centre, when treacherously made to retreat by Aristocrates, are furthermore led *through* the lines of the Messenians, *διὰ γὰρ Μεσσηνίων ἐποιεῖτο τὴν φυγὴν*, and this was done while the Spartans were advancing. This, then, would appear to be some of Myron's unmilitary romancing.

As the Arcadians pass through the lines of the Messenians, the latter chide them for their treachery, as follows: *οἱ δὲ καὶ λοιδορίαις ἐς αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐς ἄνδρας προδότας καὶ οὐ δικαίους ἐχρῶντο*, which reminds the reader of the passage in the first war, where the contending armies indulge in mutual abuse (c. 8, 2): *ἐς τε λοιδορίας προήγοντο, κ. τ. λ.* The great expectations of the Messenians were thus dashed to the ground by one blow. *Λακεδαιμονίων δεσπότης*

ἀντὶ δούλων ἔσεσθαι νομίζοντας. It was not owing to the fact that the Messenians had already been slaves that ἀντὶ δούλων is used, for as already mentioned, these accounts of the early Messenian wars were written from the point of view of later times; and moreover, in the account of the first war (c. 8, 2), the Lacedaemonians are made to say: οἱ μὲν οἰκέτας αὐτῶν ἤδη τοὺς Μεσσηνίους καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλευθερωτέρους ἀποκαλοῦντες τῶν Εἰλώτων. As far as the accounts in Pausanias go, the Messenians had a far better right to expect to become the masters of the Spartans in the early part of the first war than at any period of the second.

Now the account of this battle would fill a palpable gap in Pausanias (c. 9, 1). We read in c. 8 of such a gallant struggle being made by the Messenians that they seemed in a fair way to come out of the war victorious. Notwithstanding all this, in the following chapter everything suddenly takes an evil turn, for which no adequate explanation is offered. The principal reason alleged for this unfortunate turn of affairs is that the Messenians had to spend large sums in guarding the different towns; and yet in c. 7, 2, we are told that the Lacedaemonians, having found them well fortified, had given up their attacks upon them. The story of the treachery of Aristocrates would give a sufficient explanation of this sudden change of fortune.

Finally the passage in the account of the second war which tells of the retreat of the Messenians to Mt. Eira, bears a striking resemblance to the one in the account of the first war, that tells of the retreat to Mt. Ithome (c. 17, 10): 'Ἀριστομένης δὲ μετὰ τὴν μάχην τοὺς διαπεφευγότες τῶν Μεσσηνίων συνήθροιζε, καὶ Ἀνδανίαν μὲν καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐν μεσογαίᾳ πόλισμα ἔπεισε τὰ πολλὰ ἐκλείπειν, ἐς δὲ τὴν Εἰραν τὸ ὄρος ἀνοικίζεσθαι; with this compare c. 9, 1: βουλευομένοις δὲ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα ἐδόκει τὰ μὲν πολλὰ πολίσματα τὰ ἐς μεσόγαιαν πάντα ἐκλείπειν, ἐς δὲ τὸ ὄρος ἀνοικίζεσθαι τὴν Ἰθώμην.

c). *The Allies.*

Let us now examine the allies who are mentioned by Pausanias. If we should follow the statement in Strabo, 362 (of which passage O. Müller, *Dorier*, I, 149, 3, says: "Es ist deutlich dass dieses

alles aus Tyrtæus ist"), we should conclude that in the first war the Messenians had no allies, but in the second were assisted by the Argives, Eleans, Pisatans and Arcadians. How is it then that in Pausanias' account such an important part is played by the allies in the first war? The reason is, in my opinion, that Myron, in the case of the allies too, combined the traditions concerning the second war with those of the first. But if the names that Strabo gives of the allies are the traditional ones, we might expect Myron to have the same. Yet an exact correspondence with Strabo need not be looked for here, and we notice in Pausanias that Sicyonians take the place of the Pisatans. At the same time it must be remarked that the names mentioned by Strabo are not altogether certain (cf. Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.*, I, 165, 1; O. Müller, *Dorier*, I, 149, 3).

The handiwork of Myron may be recognized in the amount of detail given concerning the allies in the first war, which stands in sharp contrast with the scanty notice of allies in Strabo, and with the fact that Thucydides, I, 15, knows of no wars in early times in which there was a general participation of different states.

If now we turn to the second war we find nearly the same allies taking part as in the first. This is not because Pausanias depended in this part on Ephorus or some other source, but because Pausanias, in reconstructing the gap, introduced the same allies that he found in Myron's history. Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.*, I, 165, 1, seems to recognize this when he says: "Was Pausanias, IV, 15, 7, über die beiderseitigen Bundesgenossen sagt, hat keinen Wert." Vgl. Busolt, *Lakedaim.*, I, 101, 48. "Es ist eine freie Komposition der die politische Gruppierung im Jahre 418 zum Vorbilde diente." This remark, according to the generally accepted notion of the extent of Myron's history, ought to have been applied only to the allies mentioned in the first war (cf. p. 13). No doubt Pausanias knew from Ephorus that some of these allies had assisted the Messenians in the second war, but from lack of detail he was obliged to have recourse to Myron, in which he seemed justified, as Myron had evidently taken other features of the second war along with the stories about Aristomenes into his account.

A close examination will show that the allies are more intimately interwoven with the events of the first war than with those of the

second, and that the passages in which they are cited in the second war were all, or nearly so, merely imitations of those in the first. This demonstrates again that Pausanias was not following here a connected account, but was piecing together parts from different sources. I shall content myself with merely mentioning the passages where allies are referred to in the first war (*i. e.*, cc. 8, 3; 10, 1; 10, 6; 10, 7; 11, 1; 11, 2; 11, 7; 11, 8; 12, 3; 14, 1.)

The passages where they are spoken of in the account of the second war are: cc. 14, 8; 15, 1; 15, 4; 15, 7; 15, 8; 16, 2; 17, 9; 19, 1; 23, 5. In the first of these (c. 14, 8) we are told that Aristomenes sent secretly to Argos and Arcadia to ask whether they would assist the Messenians as readily as *they had done in the first war*. This cannot be from Rhianus, who probably had nothing or next to nothing about allies, and no one besides Pausanias and Myron could have known of any such help being given the Messenians in the *first war*. Now we read in the account of the first war (c. 12, 3) that, when the Lacedaemonians had sent embassies to these very Arcadians and Argives in order to win them from their alliance with the Messenians, Aristodemus sent an embassy *not* to these states to counteract the influence of the Spartans, but to the oracle—Pausanias' words being: *πέμπει καὶ αὐτὸς ἐρησόμενους τὸν θεόν*, which is an indication of an omission at this point, as the sending to the oracle has clearly nothing to do with the attempt of the Spartans to break up the alliance, and it is to be noted that there is no further reference made to this embassy. Bearing in mind that Aristomenes had been omitted from Myron's history, it seems likely that his sending secretly to Argos and Arcadia (c. 14, 8) was transferred by Pausanias from its original connection in c. 12, 3. The only change necessary to make c. 14, 8 fit in here is that of *ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ προτέρου* to *ἐπὶ τῆς μάχης τῆς προτέρας* (*i. e.*, the battle described in c. 11).

Again, in c. 15, 1 we are told that the allies were more eager for war than had been expected, and that the hate of the Argives and Arcadians was intense. This seems however to be an idle assertion, for the allies do not come until nearly two years later. So again, in c. 15, 4, they are mentioned, but only to say that they were not present at the battle of Derae. The mention of the hatred of the Argives and Arcadians in the above passage (c. 15, 1)

reminds us of the passage (c. 10, 7) in the account of the first war, where the hostile acts of the Arcadians and the enmity of the Argives are spoken of. Likewise the absence of the allies mentioned in c. 15, 4, may be compared with a similar absence spoken of in c. 10, 1. It is noteworthy that in the second war, as in the first; the allies do not participate until the war has made some progress; but notice is taken of them in both accounts more than once before the descriptions are given of the two battles in which they figure. These battles then seem to be of corresponding magnitude.

Before describing these battles the allies on both sides are enumerated, which passages in the two accounts (c. 11 and c. 15, 7-8) bear a striking resemblance to each other. A comparison, however, will show that in the *first* war the allies form an integral part of the army; in the *second* their position in the line of battle is not even mentioned, and the talk about the allies seems to be only a rough setting for the recital of Aristomenes' deeds of valor.

It is curious to see in c. 15, 7, how the catalogue of allies was made to swell. In the first place there came to the assistance of the Messenians the Eleans, Arcadians, Argives and Sicyonians. Of these the Eleans befriended the Messenians at the end of the second war (c. 23, 5), which Pausanias knew from Rhianus (cf. also c. 17, 7, and c. V, c, end); but the Arcadians, Argives and Sicyonians are mentioned together in cc. 10, 6, 11, 1, and 11, 2, each time in this order, and once in c. 14, 1, in the opposite order. In the latter place we learn that the fugitive Messenians seek refuge with them.

It is also worth noticing that it is stated in the account of the second war (c. 14, 8) that Aristomenes sent only to Argos and Arcadia for assistance, and yet the Sicyonians also come, which reminds one of the passage (c. 10, 6) in the account of the first war, where we learn that Aristodemus had sent presents to *all three states*. All of which shows that Pausanias drew on Myron in his efforts to construct the first part of the second Messenian war.

In c. 15, 8, the Corinthians and Lepreates are mentioned as the allies of the Spartans. It is safe to say that the connection that these states are represented as having had with the early Messenian wars also lacks all historical basis. O. Müller, *Dorier*, I, 144, 6, commenting on the unhistorical nature of some of the statements made in Pausanias concerning these wars, says: "Wie kämen

Korinther nach Lakonien, ohne durch feindliches Gebiet zu gehen, und wer hätte sie durchgelassen" (cf. Paus., c. 11, 8). Now the Corinthians are mentioned several times as allies of the Spartans in the account of the first war (i. e., c. 11, 1, *bis*, and c. 11, 8), and it is easy to see that those passages are more closely connected with the narrative than the one under discussion (i. e., c. 15, 8). A place in the line of battle is assigned to them (c. 11, 1), and the difficulty of their return home after the defeat is commented on. Whereas, in c. 15, 8 their presence is simply mentioned, and nothing is said of their position in the line of battle, nor is any concern expressed about their returning home safely, although the Spartans were defeated at the battle of Capron Sema, just as they had been before Ithome, and the Corinthians were therefore in the same situation here as there.

The Corinthians are also mentioned once as the allies of the Spartans in the Rhianus part (c. 19, 1); but evidently they form no vital part of Rhianus' epic, as he describes a siege, and it does not appear anywhere that the Spartans found any difficulty in sustaining it. Moreover, the Corinthians do not appear to form a necessary part of this exploit of Aristomenes, because Polyaeus in II, 31, tells the same story essentially without the Corinthians. Besides Pausanias (c. 18, 5) was acquainted with two versions of this story (cf. Immerwahr, *Lakonika*, 171), and it is to be expected that Myron had also told this story. If so, we recognize the source for the general remark in c. 18, 4: ἐς τὸν Κεάδαν ἑμβάλλουσι δὲ ἐνταῦθα οὓς ἂν ἐπὶ μεγίστοις τιμωρῶνται, for in Thuc., I, 134, 4, we read: καὶ αὐτὸν ἐμέλλησαν μὲν ἐς τὸν Καϊάδαν οὐπερ τοὺς κακούργους ἐμβάλλειν. Polyaeus does not mention the place at all.

Of the Lepreates no mention is made in the account of the first war. It is stated there (c. 11, 1) that the Corinthians were the only ones of the Peloponnesians who came to the assistance of the Spartans. But it also appears that the assistance the Lepreates are said to render the Spartans in the second war is in conflict with c. 24, 1; for there we are told that Aristomenes gave one of his daughters in marriage to a Lepreat (cf. O. Müller, *Dorier*, I, 151, 4). Now we read in III, 8, 3-6, that the Lacedaemonians took the part of the Lepreates against the Eleans, of which the words (c. 15, 8), καὶ Λεπρεατῶν τινες κατὰ ἔχθος τὸ Ἑλείων are evidently a reminiscence. It therefore seems likely that Pausanias,

on his own authority, thought it proper to introduce them here as allies of the Spartans.

The enumeration of the allies who came to the battle of Capron Sema (c. 15, 7) includes also the descendants of the Messenian king Androcles. These are mentioned again in c. 16, 2 and c. 17, 9). It is not clear on what source Pausanias relied in this instance, but it is possible that the notice of them was taken with other matter from Myron. At any rate they seem to have figured in Myron's account to some extent (cf. cc. 4, 4; 5, 6; 14, 3).

Very noticeable is the close correspondence between the passages c. 14, 1 and c. 15, 7—the former telling of the exile of the Messenians at the end of the first war, the latter of the return of the exiles, as follows (c. 14, 1): Μεσσηνίων δὲ ὅσοις μὲν ἔτυχον ἐν Σικυῶνι οὔσαι καὶ ἐν Ἀργεὶ προξενίαι καὶ παρὰ τῶν Ἀρκάδων τισίν, οὗτοι μὲν ἐς ταύτας τὰς πόλεις ἀπεχώρησαν, ἐς Ἐλευσίνα δὲ οἱ τοῦ γένους τῶν ἱερέων καὶ Θεαῖς ταῖς μεγάλαις τελοῦντες τὰ ὄργια. ὁ δὲ ὄχλος ὁ πολὺς κατὰ τὰς πατρίδας ἕκαστοι τὰς ἀρχαίας ἐσκεδάσθησαν, and 15, 7: ἡκόντων ἀμφοτέροις καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, . . . Μεσσηνίοις μὲν οὖν Ἠλεῖοι καὶ Ἀρκάδες, ἔτι δὲ ἐξ Ἀργεὺς ἀφίκετο καὶ Σικυῶνος βοήθεια. παρήσαν δὲ καὶ ὅσοι πρότερον τῶν Μεσσηνίων ἔφευγον ἐκουσίως, ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος τε οἷς πάτριον δρᾶν τὰ ὄργια τῶν μεγάλων Θεῶν, κ. τ. λ. Not only is the correspondence between these two passages noteworthy, but this attempt to join the second war to the first seems hasty, for who would believe that the same men participated in two wars that were separated by an interval of thirty-nine years, especially as the first one had lasted twenty years! Concerning the flight of the priests to Eleusis, O. Müller, *Dorier*, I, 144, 6, says: "Die Flucht der Eingeweihten nach Eleusis ist ganz ungeschichtlich gedacht; noch mehr dass sie im zweiten Kriege ruhig zusehen. Kämpften doch in Athen selbst Daduchen in Reih und Glied." This bit of improbability agrees with Myron's style of romancing.

d). *Tyrtæus*.

From whom did Pausanias take his information about Tyrtæus? Duncker, VI, 106, says that the story about the lame school-master whom the Athenians sent to the Spartans in de-

rision, which is most completely developed in Pausanias, is of very late origin. Tyrtaeus is mentioned four times as an active participant in the second Messenian war (cf. cc. 15, 6; 16, 2; 16, 6; 18, 3): three times in that part which was made up by Pausanias, and once (c. 18, 3) in the part where Rhianus was his chief source. But even here I have no doubt that it was inserted, since, as in the previous passages, Tyrtaeus is barely mentioned, and only enough to bring in some bit of well-known tradition. It is my opinion that Tyrtaeus was included in Myron's history just as Aristomenes was.

That late tradition did actually place Tyrtaeus in the first war we learn from Suidas (s. v. Tyrtaeus): *Τυρταῖος ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὤμοσαν ἢ Μεσσήνην αἰρήσειν ἢ αὐτοὶ τεθνήξεσθαι . χρήσαντος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ στρατηγὸν παρὰ Ἀθηναίων λαβεῖν, λαμβάνουσι Τυρταῖον τὸν ποιητὴν, χωλὸν ἄνδρα . ὃς ἐπ' ἀρετὴν αὐτοὺς παρακαλῶν εἶλε τῷ κ' ἔτει τὴν Μεσσήνην, κ. τ. λ.* The oath as well as the numeral show that the first war is meant. Now in Paus., c. 15, 6, where we learn that the Lacedaemonians, in obedience to the oracle applied to the Athenians for a leader, we read the following: *'Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὐδέτερά θέλοντες, οὔτε Λακεδαιμονίους ἄνευ μεγάλων κινδύνων προσλαβεῖν μοῖραν τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ τὴν ἀρίστην, οὔτε κ. τ. λ.* I have shown above that Myron brought out very prominently the desire of the Spartans to get the Messenian land, with which *προσλαβεῖν μοῖραν* above agrees. Besides, this would have been suitably said in the first war, before the Lacedaemonians had got possession of Messenia, but not after they had held it for thirty-nine years.

Again, one of the measures that Tyrtaeus proposed in order to strengthen the Spartan cause was to take Helots into the army (cf. Paus., c. 16, 6; Justin., III, 5); but we find these assisting already in the first war (c. 11, 1), and there a marked progress may be observed, for whereas, in c. 8, 3 we read only of Perioeci assisting the Lacedaemonians, in c. 11, 1 we find Perioeci and Helots.

It appears from the foregoing discussion concerning the chapters 14–17 (which constitute the beginning of the account of the second war) that, as Myron's history ostensibly dealt only with the first

war, and Rhianus' epic with the latter part of the second, Pausanias had to turn elsewhere for material. An outline he may have found in Ephorus and Sosibius; but this was probably too bare to be in keeping with the preceding story of the first war, and the part of the second war which Rhianus treated. Now as Pausanias knew that Myron had included in his history not only the stories about Aristomenes, but also other matter, he decided to utilize this material. The various considerations that have been advanced, and the close relationship which appears to exist between the part under discussion and the account of the first war, make this hypothesis very probable.

Let us pause for a moment to review the investigation into Pausanias' indebtedness to Myron's history, as far as it has been made. I began with the generally accepted view that Myron had written the history of the first war from the taking of Amphieia down to the death of Aristodemus. Starting from this point, it was shown that his history had begun with an introduction; that it had not only related the events of the war to its close, but had told of the exile of the Messenians, and finally that Myron's history had virtually extended into the territory of the second war, inasmuch as tradition that pertained to the second war had been included. So far, then, the investigation has considered Myron's history as simply dealing with the first war, although in a larger sense than is generally supposed. Now the attempt will be made to prove that Myron had not stopped here, but had continued with the recital of the later doings of the Messenians, and especially had shown how they had been finally restored to their country by Epaminondas.

VI. CONSIDERATION OF POSSIBLE SOURCES FOR THE ACCOUNT OF THE RESTORATION.

a). It was not constructed by Pausanias from Fragments.

It must be evident from the foregoing discussion that Myron and Rhianus were the principal sources that Pausanias used when writing the history of the first two Messenian wars. The question now arises, where did Pausanias get his material for the subsequent

history? We must accept one of three propositions: Firstly, Pausanias worked up the account of the restoration from fragments of tradition; secondly, he adapted an account of the restoration which was complete in itself; thirdly, he had access to some history of the Messenian wars which included the story of the restoration.

The objection to the first proposition is, that Pausanias would never have produced an harmonious narrative, such as we now find, from raw material handed down by tradition. This can be seen by examining the last two chapters of the historical part of the *Messenica* (i. e., cc. 28 and 29). These two chapters, which sketch the history of the Messenians subsequent to the restoration, i. e., from 370 B. C. to 183 B. C., bear unmistakable signs of having been composed by Pausanias himself. He refers to his Attica in c. 28, 3; to his Sicyonia in c. 29, 1; and if we compare these chapters with I, 13, 6; II, 9, 2; VII, 7, 4; VIII, 49, 4; 50, 2; 50, 5, it will be easy to see that they were not originally written by Pausanias to be Messenian history; in fact, the part from c. 29, 6 to c. 29, 13 is largely a condensation of that part of his Arcadian history in which Philopoemen figures.

There is no doubt then that Pausanias himself is responsible for the composition of these two chapters. But how different they are from the part that precedes! As the reader turns to these chapters he finds the Messenians fade, as it were, into the distance. Twice they draw near again—once when an expedition is made by them against Elis (c. 28), and again when they are attacked by Demetrius (c. 29). But as these anecdotes, which are evidently taken from some Messenian source, are not brought into organic unity with the rest, it becomes evident that Pausanias could not have produced an harmonious account of the restoration if he had depended on fragments of tradition. Myron and Rhianus wove their fragments together by drawing on their imagination. Pausanias, in his capacity as compiler, turned to his sources, and hence could not be expected to attain the same unity of composition.

Besides this it is very noticeable that the intense Messenian bias so prominent in the previous part of the history is lacking in the above named chapters. Pausanias himself evidently favored the Lacedaemonians as much as the Messenians, for he not only devoted a book to Laconia, in which there is no evidence of a feeling

against them, but he shows a special interest in Theopompus, the Spartan king who reigned at the time of the first Messenian war (cf. Immerwahr, *Lakonika*, 20, and Paus., III, 3, 2), and speaks of the merits of Polydorus, the other king, in III, 3, 2-3. Moreover, as already mentioned, he assumes an impartial attitude, which is in striking contrast with the one-sided Messenian version (cf. III, 3, 2; IV, 4, 3; 5, 5). If, on the other hand, Pausanias had acquired a strong Messenian sympathy from his Messenian sources, we should expect him to continue in this frame of mind to the end of this history; but such is not the case. If it were not for the expedition against Elis in c. 28 and the attack of Demetrius in c. 29, in both of which chapters the Messenians are represented as endowed with their former valor, our feelings would be turned against them. This darker picture of the Messenian character is no doubt truer to history, and agrees with the estimate put upon it by Polybius (IV, 32). Accordingly, in c. 28, 2, we read that they became the allies of Philip, the son of Amyntas, for which reason they took no part in the battle of Chaeroneia. But such an alliance ought to have appeared especially reprehensible to Pausanias, who censures Philip severely in I, 25, 3, and in VIII, 7, 5, and soon after mentioning the alliance, says (c. 28, 4): *Φιλίππου δὲ τοῦ Ἀμύντου τά τε ἄλλα ὅποσα εἴρηται κακουργήσαντος τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ Ἡλείων τοὺς δυνατοὺς διαφθείραντος χρήμασι*. It was just such a charge that the Messenians had brought against the Lacedaemonians in c. 5, 3: *Κρίσῳ τε αὐτοῖς δῶρα ἀποστείλαντι γενέσθαι φίλους βαρβάρῳ πρῶτους, κ. τ. λ.* (see also p. 15). For the alliance with Philip Pausanias makes no excuse, unless we may consider as an excuse his explanation of the non-appearance of the Messenians at Chaeroneia, with the words (c. 28, 3): *οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐναντία θέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα ἠθέλησαν*. Again, in the case of Philopoemen, for whom Pausanias must have felt an interest, to judge from the account of his life in VIII, to which he refers, there is the same failure to appreciate the discredit that the Messenians had brought upon themselves. He simply says (c. 29, 12): *Μεσσηνίων δὲ οἳ τε Φιλοποίμενι αἵτιοι τῆς τελευτῆς ἔδοσαν δίκας, καὶ ἡ Μεσσήνη συνετέλεσεν αὐθις ἐς τὸ Ἀχαϊκόν*. The lack of sympathy for the Messenians that is apparent in these chapters, which were undoubtedly constructed by Pausanias, and the want

of unity of composition, show that the previous chapters must have been derived from some complete account. This opinion is strengthened by the evidence given above, which proves that some particular source of Pausanias must have ceased suddenly to flow when the story of the restoration had been told.

b). *The Story of the Restoration joined to an Account of the Previous History.*

According to the second proposition Pausanias would have used as a source some complete account of the restoration, but one independent of the earlier history. But surely if anyone had written of the restoration he would not have neglected to bring it into connection with the wars which had effected the banishment. In fact, it may be urged against both the foregoing propositions that it would be highly improbable for no one before Pausanias' time to have brought the story of the restoration into connection with the early wars. At the period of the restoration, or, at least, at a time not so far remote as that of Pausanias, who lived in the second century A. D., would it be natural to look for an unusual interest to manifest itself in the fortunes of the Messenians, an interest such as produced the works of Myron, Rhianus and Aeschylus of Alexandria.

Now there is clear evidence that the restoration had been joined to the earlier history in the source which Pausanias used. For chapter 25, which is totally the work of the imagination, was undoubtedly written for the purpose of bridging over the gap between the history of the wars and the account of the restoration, and we can also see a close relation existing between the beginning of the *Messenica* and the account of the restoration. For evidence in regard to c. 25, see c. VIII, b. As to the latter proposition, the following comparison between the above-named parts of the *Messenica* will show that it is true.

Especial prominence is given in the *Messenica* to the rites performed in honor of the Great Goddesses. Pausanias (c. 33, 4) says he considers them, performed at Carnasium, only next in majesty to the Eleusinian mysteries. Soon after the occupation of Messenia by Polycaon the rites of the Great Goddesses, as we are told, were

brought from Eleusis to Andania by Caucon and revealed there to Messene, the wife of Polycæon. Many years later these rites were raised to greater honor by Lycus, the son of Pandion. These matters are spoken of as important events, and are discussed in five consecutive paragraphs. The presence of these religious ceremonies gave to Andania a special importance. Next to Andania the town Oichalia, known later by the name Carnasium, is spoken of as a place famous for its worship of the Great Goddesses. Besides Caucon, Lycus and Messene, the names of Eurytus, Aphareus and his sons are mentioned in connection with these rites. It was to Aphareus, the son of Perieres, and his children, that Lycus revealed the rites at Andania.

Now in the account of the restoration the same degree of importance is attached both to the rites of the Great Goddesses and to the places and heroes that are associated with them in the introduction. So it is stated in c. 26, 6, that when Epaminondas wanted to build a town for the Messenians, they positively refused to rebuild either Andania or Oichalia, as their calamities had come upon them while living there. The joining of the name Oichalia with Andania was evidently made on account of the fact that the celebration of the mysteries was also connected with this place; for otherwise Arene, Pylus or Stenyclarus should have been mentioned instead, as they had been in the early times successively the seats of government after Andania. While Epaminondas was in doubt, in consequence of the above-mentioned refusal, where to build the city, a vision of the priest Caucon appeared to him, commanding him to restore to the Messenians their land. The same vision appeared also to Epiteles, who commanded the Argive contingent of forces, telling him to dig at a certain place on Mt. Ithome. He obeyed, and found a roll of tin finely wrought, on which were inscribed the rites of the Great Goddesses. In consequence of these events Epaminondas decided to found a city on Mt. Ithome, and the priests inscribed in books the rites that had been discovered.

Then, before beginning work on the city, sacrifices were offered by all the parties engaged, but especially by the Messenians, who, together with their priests, offered sacrifices to Zeus Ithomatas, the Dioscuri, the Great Goddesses, Caucon, Messene, Eurytus, Aphareus and his sons, Cresphontes Aipytus and Aristomenes. Here it

should be noted that not only are the Great Goddesses and the names that are associated with their rites mentioned, but also that the other divinities and heroes to whom sacrifices are offered play an important role in the introduction, as well as in the account of the wars. A connection with the body of the history is also observable. The priests of the Great Goddesses are mentioned in cc. 14, 1 and 15, 7, and their rites in c. 20 (see c. VI, c, end). For the frequent mention of Zeus Ithomatas see c. VII, a, ff., and of the Dioscuri c. VII, b, ff. Aristomenes, of course, plays an important role in the second war, and it may be remarked that in c. 17, 1 he owes his life to a priestess of Demeter. There can be no doubt then that Pausanias made use of some source in which the restoration was already in organic unity with the earlier as well as the later history.

Further evidence can be seen in a passage that was pointed out by Kohlmann, op. cit., 21. We have already seen how Pausanias, after telling of the restoration of the Messenians to their country, proceeds in cc. 28 and 29 to give a sketch of the later history, down to the year 183 B. C. He then concludes the historical part of the *Messenica* with these words (c. 29, 13): "Ἀχρι μὲν δὴ τοῦδε ὁ λόγος ἐπὶ τῇ μοι Μεσσηνίων τὰ πολλὰ παθήματα, καὶ ὡς ὁ δαίμων σφᾶς ἐπὶ τε γῆς τὰ ἔσχατα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ πορρώτατα Πελοποννήσου σκεδάσας ὕστερον χρόνῳ καὶ ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀνέσωσε· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου τῆς χώρας καὶ πόλεων τραπώμεθα ἐς ἀφήγησιν." This passage clearly indicates that some source that Pausanias used ended with the account of the restoration, for if Pausanias had been responsible for the construction of all the later history, he would not have overlooked what he had related in cc. 28 and 29.

If the reasoning so far has been correct, it follows that either Rhianus or Myron furnished Pausanias with material for writing the account of the restoration. A third source might of course be thought of; but as it has been shown that the account of the restoration must have been attached to a history of the wars, such a third source would have been more important to Pausanias than either Myron or Rhianus. Yet Pausanias (c. 6), when discussing the relative trustworthiness of Myron and Rhianus, has nothing to say of a third source. Furthermore, it has been well substantiated that Myron and Rhianus were the chief sources for the history of

the wars, and it is therefore more natural to look to them for an account of the restoration than to assume some unknown source. This view is supported by the fact that so many points in the account of the restoration are closely connected with those parts which have recognizedly been taken from Myron and Rhianus. One of the best examples of this is the story of the roll of tin on which the rites of the Great Goddesses had been inscribed, which Epiteles found on Mt. Ithome, and which had been deposited there by Aristomenes. The circumstances concerning this deposit, told in c. 20, and again in c. 26, stand in such intimate relation that it is impossible that Pausanias could have obtained them from two distinct sources. But c. 20 belongs to that part of the account of the second war which presumably was taken from Rhianus. If then this circumstance owes its origin to Rhianus, it follows that he was also the author of the account of the restoration. But weighty reasons show that this cannot be true.

c). *Rhianus*.

Kohlmann, op. cit., tried to prove by pointing out correspondences between the account of the restoration and the history of the second war, that Rhianus had not closed his epic with the death of Aristodemus, as was generally supposed (cf. O. Müller, *Dorier*, I, 152, 3; Meineke, *Analecta Alexandrina*, 197), but had extended his poem so as to include the story of the restoration of the Messenians to their country by Epaminondas. Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.*, I, 136, 5, says that Conat, *Les Messéniennes de Rhianus*, *Annales de la faculté de Lettres de Bordeaux*, II (1880), 377 sqq.,¹ has at least severely shaken this hypothesis. Conat, *Poésie Alex.*, 338, in giving his reasons against Kohlmann's hypothesis, closes with the objection that an account of the restoration would be a natural termination of a detailed account of the two wars: not of a poem devoted to the glorification of a single man like Aristomenes, and practically confined to the siege of Eira.

The almost exclusive attention that is paid to Aristomenes in the account of the second war is very striking. Nearly all the

¹ Unfortunately I have been unable to see this article.

fighting consists in personal encounters between Aristomenes and the Spartans. The oracle predicting the fall of Eira is known only to Aristomenes and to the priest Theoclus, who keep the information to themselves (cf. cc. 20, 3; 21, 3). In the first war, on the contrary, all the Messenians are represented as taking part in the fighting and are familiar with the oracles.

The national hatred between Messenians and Spartans was intense in the first war, as can be seen by examining the following passages: cc. 4, 4; 7, 3; 7, 5; 8, 1; 8, 7; 11, 5; 11, 6; 13, 5; which harmonize in sentiment with cc. 5, 3-5; 8, 2; 17, 3-6. This last passage belonged to Myron, as was shown p. 37. On the other hand, we are informed in the account of the second war only of the feelings of Aristomenes and of the priest Theoclus (cf. 16, 5; 22, 3; 21, 11; 23, 2). The passage (c. 15, 1) where the hatred of the Argives and Arcadians is mentioned, has been shown above (p. 40) to be due to Pausanias. Still there is one passage (i. e., c. 23, 5) at the close of the story of the second war, where the hatred of the Messenian people is mentioned. It must be observed, however, that this is done in a relenting spirit, with which compare c. 21, 12, where the Spartans seem to relent.

We seem to be reading there the final act concerning the fortunes of the Messenians as Rhianus had related them. At other times the Messenian exiles scattered themselves in different directions. So it was at the end of the first war, and after they were driven from Naupactus, 405 B. C.; but after the second war, we are told, there was one grand exodus (c. 23, 3): *καὶ μετέσχον ἅπαντες, πλὴν εἰ γῆράς τινα ἀπείργεν ἢ μηδὲ εὐπορῶν ἔτυχεν ἐς τὴν ἀποδημίαν*. It was, then, in accordance with this final act that Manticles is made to tell the Messenians to *forget* Messene and their hatred of the Lacedaemonians (c. 23, 5).

Then we are treated to a fictitious account of how, on the invitation of Anaxilas, whom we know to have lived in the fifth century B. C. (cf. Bently, *Dissertat. upon Phal.*, 190 sqq.), they attack Zancle and with his help take possession of it; whereupon they show clemency to the conquered and make a treaty with them, and change the name of the town to Messene (c. 23, 9). This seems a fitting close to the history of the unfortunate Messenians, who have now found a final resting-place, which is marked by the last

words of the chapter (c. 23, 10): *Μεσσηνίοις μὲν οὖν τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἐγγόνει πέρας τῆς ἄλης.*

Having thus closed his account of the Messenians, Rhianus returns to Aristomenes to tell of his last days—how the hero gives his daughters and a sister in marriage and goes to live with a third daughter who married Damagetus, a king on the island of Rhodes, where he ends his days. Pausanias closes his account of him with the words (c. 24, 3): *οὐ γὰρ ἔδει συμφορὰν οὐδεμίαν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔτι ἐξ Ἀριστομένους γενέσθαι*, which words, as Conat has pointed out, show that Rhianus had now come to the end of his story. It must be evident that, as Rhianus' interest was centered in Aristomenes (cf. c. 6, 3: *Ῥιανῶ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν οὐδὲν Ἀριστομένης ἐστὶν ἀφανέστερος ἢ Ἀχιλλεύς ἐν Ἰλιάδι Ὀμήρῳ*), he should have had no motive to tell of the later fortunes of the Messenian people after the death of his hero. As the account stands in Pausanias it looks very much like the close of a story.

The above considerations show that Rhianus did not write of the restoration. How, then, could he have written (c. 20) about the deposit on Mt. Ithome of the roll containing the sacred rites, which is closely connected with the same? A negative answer is supported by the following considerations: If Rhianus had told this story, it would have been strange that Ithome and not Eira should have been the spot chosen where to bury the roll, for Eira and not Ithome was the stronghold of the Messenians in the second war. Besides, as Eira was closely besieged, the future of Messenia would have been jeopardized by attempting to pass through the lines, a difficulty which is not adverted to. Again, the close intimacy existing between Theoclus and Aristomenes, who share the knowledge of the oracle which prophesied the coming destruction and who are elsewhere brought into close relation with each other, and the fact that Theoclus is priest, ought to have made him participate in that religious act of Aristomenes; but no one besides Aristomenes knows anything about it. Moreover, the fact that the rites of the Great Goddesses are in question; that Lykus, the son of Pandion, is mentioned, and that Aristomenes prays to Zeus Ithomatas, indicates that this episode is connected with the mythologi-

cal period of the Messenian history, and at the same time with the restoration, thus reaching far beyond the limits of Rhianus' epic.

On the other hand, we know that Myron had included the deeds of Aristomenes in his history, and that Ithome was the place where the Messenians resisted the attacks of the Spartans in the first war; and it would, therefore, have been easy and natural, according to Myron's account, for Aristomenes to bury the roll of tin there. But if the passage under discussion was included in Myron's history, it furnishes a clear proof that Myron had also written of the restoration.

VII. MYRON'S HISTORY PROBABLY INCLUDED AN ACCOUNT OF THE RESTORATION.

a). Various Reasons Assigned to Prove Myron's Authorship.

The reason that Myron has not been proposed as a source for the account of the restoration seems to be the words of Pausanias in c. 6, which apparently limit Myron's history to the first war: *συνεχῶς μὲν δὴ τὰ πάντα ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐς τοῦ πολέμου τὴν τελευτὴν οὐδετέρῳ διήνυσται, μέρος δὲ ᾧ ἐκάτερος ἡρέσκετο, ὁ μὲν τῆς τε Ἀμφείας τὴν ἄλωσιν καὶ τὰ ἐφεξῆς συνέθηκεν, οὐ πρόσω τῆς Ἀριστοδήμου τελευτῆς, Ῥιανὸς δὲ τοῦδε μὲν τοῦ πρώτου τῶν πολέμων οὐδὲ ἤφατο ἀρχήν, ὅποσα δὲ χρόνῳ συνέβη τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ἀποστᾶσιν ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὐ τὰ πάντα ἔγραψε, τῆς μάχης δὲ τὰ ὕστερα ἦν ἐμαχέσαντο ἐπὶ τῇ Τάφρῳ τῇ καλουμένῃ μεγάλῃ.* But we must take into account that Pausanias had to decide whether to follow Myron's history, which embraced in its story of one great war nearly all the early tradition, including the tales about Aristomenes, or to tell of two wars and relegate Aristomenes and some other matter that Myron's history contained to the account of the second war. The words *συνεχῶς—διήνυσται* quoted above show us that Pausanias had in mind only what pertained to these first two wars. This exclusive reference to those wars, therefore, does not signify a denial on the part of Pausanias that Myron had also written of other portions of Messenian history. We have seen above that these words are not to be taken literally, as Myron had written likewise of the causes that led up to the wars and had told of the capture of Ithome.

This granted, the likelihood of Myron having written also of the restoration of the Messenians becomes at once very strong, for his history was that of the people, and the strong sympathy which he displays for the Messenians would naturally prompt him to tell how they were finally restored to their rights, and how their bitter enemies, the Spartans, received the punishment which was due them.

The exclusive mention of the Messenians in the account of the restoration seems to reflect the devotion of Myron to the cause of these people. Thus we learn from various sources that Epaminondas did not colonize the new city Messene with Messenians alone, but also with others (cf. Diod., XV, 66, and Isocrates, *Archid.*, 28); yet in Pausanias we read only of the restoration of the Messenians, and the vision that appears to Epaminondas, c. 26, 6, says: *σὺ δὲ Μεσσηνίοις γῆν τε πατρίδα καὶ πόλεις ἀπόδος*. Likewise in the short sketch of the third war only Messenians are said to take part, which is contrary to Thucydides and Ephorus, who speak of Helots and others (see c. VIII, *a*; cf. Busolt, II, p. 439, *n*).

The poetical elements in cc. 26 and 27, which consist chiefly of dreams and apparitions, were cited by Kohlmann to show their relationship to the poem of Rhianus; but, although Pausanias tells us (c. 6) that Myron wrote his history in prose, there is no doubt as to the poetical character of his narrative, which was probably due, to a large extent, to the sources which he used. L. Spengel (*Abhandlungen d. Münchener Akad. Classe*, I, Bd. X) said: "Man möchte auch den Myron gleich Rhianus für einen Dichter halten, dieselbe beabsichtigte Concinnität, bis ins Tragische gestaltet;" and when Kohlmann (op. cit., 24) puts this aside with the words: *Quod ita recte sese non habere manifestum est*, he did so probably with the thought that, what Spengel considered poetical touches, were but rhetorical embellishments. Yet rhetorical style alone could not account for the character of Myron's narrative, and Manso, *Sparta*, I, p. 268, sqq., is possibly right in attributing the poetical elements in the *Messenica* to epic lays, although it seems far more probable that Myron and Rhianus should have used them as sources than that Pausanias should have constructed his history with their help.

Myron often lets the Messenians and Lacedaemonians fight in heroic style outside of the line of battle (cf. cc. 8, 4; 10, 2). The passage where Theopompus rushes forward to kill Euphaes, and Euphaes likens his adversary to Polynices (c. 8, 8), is regarded by Kohlmann as rhetorical, yet it may be due to a poetical source, as Manso thought (*Sparta*, I, p. 268). Conat (*Poesie Alex.*, p. 352) compares the story (c. 18, 4) in the Rhianus part, where Aristomenes is struck senseless by a stone and so falls into the hands of the Spartans, with Iliad, XIV, 409, ff., where Ajax strikes Hector with a stone, and as the Achaeans rush forward to get possession of the body of the fallen hero, is defended by the Trojans, who rescue him from the fight. A parallel, which is perhaps better, may be found in c. 10, 3, where Euphaes falls senseless in the thick of the fight, although not struck by a stone; but here, just as in the case of Hector, his friends rush to his rescue and succeed in bearing him off. There can be no doubt, then, of the poetical character of Myron's history.

We need, however, not be satisfied with a general correspondence in poetic style, but can find a closer relationship between the dreams related in the account of the restoration and Myron's history. Thus the vision of Comon's mother (c. 26) was a sign of the coming restoration, and so resembles the vision that Aristomenes had in the first war (c. 13, 2), which was a sign of the coming destruction. This correspondence is strengthened by the peculiar hideousness of these two dreams. On the other hand, the visions that are said to have occurred in the second war pertain neither to the destruction to be visited upon Messenia nor to the restoration. Besides, it was shown above that chapters 14-17 were derived, to a large extent, from Myron; so, possibly, the vision of the Dioscuri at the battle of Stenyclarus was taken from his history. The vision of Caucon, which appears to Epaminondas and Epiteles, is clearly connected with the earliest mythological period, as well as with the period of the wars, and, as shown (c. VI, b), probably belongs to Myron's history. In c. 26, 3 we are told that the priest in Messene, the colony in Sicily, had a dream in which it appeared that the god Heracles Manticlus was invited by Zeus to partake of a feast on Mt. Ithome. The fact that in Myron the Messenians retreat to Mt. Ithome and defend themselves there makes it likely that refer-

ences to Ithome and Zeus Ithomatas were due to him. The frequent references to Zeus Ithomatas in the *Messenica* strengthen this view, for they make it probable that the mention of him was not merely due to fragments of tradition, but also to the design of the author of the first Messenian war, in which Ithome plays such a prominent role. In c. 3, 9 we are told that Glaucus instituted the worship of Zeus on the top of Mt. Ithome; in c. 12, 7 (cf. also c. 12, 8-10) the oracle says the divinity gives the Messenian land to those who first shall place a hundred tripods around the altar of Zeus Ithomatas; in c. 13, 1 Aristodemus sacrifices to him; in c. 19, 3 Aristomenes offers him the sacrifice of the *Hecatomphe*; and in 20, 4 he prays to Zeus, who protects Ithome, to guard the deposit he had made there. These two latter passages are found in the Rhianus part; but c. 20, 4 has been shown (p. 53, sqq.) to have belonged to Myron's history, and c. 19, 3 deals with Aristomenes, thus making it possible that Myron was a source. Moreover, the mention of Zeus Ithomatas that is made in c. 19, 3 is omitted by Polyaeus, II, 31, 1, who speaks of the same sacrifice as being offered by Aristomenes; and, although Clem. Alex. (see p. 19) mentions Zeus Ithomatas in this connection, there is still some likelihood that Myron is responsible for the mention of Zeus in the passage under discussion.

Finally, in c. 27, 6 Zeus Ithomatas heads the list of divinities to whom the Messenians offer sacrifices, which fact, together with the circumstances concerning this divinity mentioned above, show that he played an important role in the history of the Messenians along with the Dioscuri and the Great Goddesses.

b). The Part Played by Destiny Points to Myron.

Further proof of the thesis that Myron had included an account of the restoration in his history will be found in looking into the fundamental plan of the *Messenica*, according to which the affairs of the Messenians, as well as of the Spartans, were controlled by destiny.

Not only does the history itself reveal this plan, but the words in cc. 29, 13 and 6, 1 clearly refer to the same. Myron's history of the first war corresponds with this conception, and Busolt, *Gr.*

Gesch., I, 135, 6, says: "Die Messenier unterliegen nicht durch die Waffengewalt der Spartaner, sondern durch göttlichen Ratschluss und List."

c). *Rhianus and Myron.*

But so did, in a measure, Rhianus' epic, and Conat thought that destiny was even more fully represented in this poem than in Myron's history. The matter is complicated, both by the fact that the work of destiny was recognized in the sources which were accessible to Rhianus and Myron, and by the fact that, in writing the history of the second war, Pausanias used some of the material that Myron's history contained. But, although both accounts represent the Messenian defeat as decreed by fate, it is Myron's history which reaches back to an earlier time, when the Messenians brought upon themselves the wrath of the gods, and then again clearly looks forward into the future to a time of retribution.

It is true the following three passages, cc. 17, 6, 20, 4, 21, 10, in the account of the second war refer to a retribution, but the first two have been shown to have been derived from Myron (p. 36, ff., and p. 53, ff.), and therefore the third passage, c. 21, 10, which records the last words of Theoclus, becomes insignificant when compared with the references that are made to a retribution in Myron's history. This is true even though we leave out of account the above named passages (cc. 17, 6 and 20, 4), and compare c. 12, 7 with c. 21, 10. That the thought of retribution should occur in Rhianus' poem is but another example of the fact that both Rhianus and Myron had access to the same or similar tradition. Now it is a significant fact that in the account of the restoration no notice is taken of the words of Theoclus (c. 21, 10), whose utterance stood nearer in point of time; but, instead, the words of the oracle cited in the account of the first war are quoted (cf. c. VII, b, end). There are some other passages (cc. 18, 7; 20, 1; 21, 7; etc.) in the account of the second war in which reference is made to supernatural power, but they either have nothing to do with destiny or have reference only to the second war.

The following considerations show that the idea of destiny was worked out in Myron's history more fully than in Rhianus' epic: Whereas a succession of oracles and omens in the first war settle

the fate of the Messenians; the fall of Eira, on the other hand, was really brought about by natural causes: the betrayal of the Messenian woman, the inclement weather, and the wounding of Aristomenes. Destiny reveals itself through oracles and omens (cf. Moulton, *The Ancient Classical Drama*, 93, sqq.); but, whereas we find one oracle of two lines in the account of the second war, there are quoted in the account of the first war four oracles, consisting respectively of five, three, seven and six lines; and what gives this fact more importance is that the course of events in the first war is guided, to a large extent, by these oracles. Again, there are almost no omens worth mentioning in the account of the second war in comparison with those that are enumerated in c. 13.

In the poem of Rhianus there seems neither to have been a reference to the guilt of the Messenians, so as to explain why they were punished, nor were the wrong doings of the Spartans set forth, so as to justify the retribution. (Note that c. 17 belonged to Myron's account, and that c. 14 is a paraphrase of a Tyrtæan verse.) Accordingly the idea of retribution is only touched upon in Rhianus (c. 21, 10), whereas in Myron it stands in close connection both with the earlier Messenian history and the restoration.

If we turn our attention more particularly to Myron's history we shall find that destiny played an important role there. But let us first examine some reasons that show us that Myron's introduction must have included a sketch of the earliest history of Messenia.

This account of the earliest history shows us that the Messenians had a right to their land, and that this was recognized by the Spartans. It also shows that the population of Messenia contained a Spartan element, which makes intelligible the charge that the Spartans were making war on their own kinsmen, and so were guilty of sacrilege against Heracles, their common ancestor. These early chapters also explain the friendship which bound the Messenians to the Argives and Arcadians, for Polycarn had married Messene from Argos, and Cresphontes had married Merope, the daughter of the Arcadian Cypselus.

Furthermore, it is noteworthy that there is no break in the line of succession of Messenian kings from Cresphontes, the first Dorian

king in Messenia, down to Euphaes, which is an indication that this early part is of one piece with the introduction, especially as the narrative appears to be closely knit together.

The story of Aipytus, the son of Cresphontes, is told in c. 3, 8; then follow in quick succession characterizations of the descendants who are his successors, *viz.*, Glaucus, Isthmius, Dotadas, Sybotas and Phintas. Then we are told that in the reign of Phintas the first difference arose between the Messenians and Spartans. It was the occasion on which the Spartan king Teleclus met his death. The successors of Phintas were his two sons, Antiochus and Androcles. During their reign the Polychares episode took place, which was the immediate cause of the war. Euphaes, finally, the son of Antiochus, was the king during whose reign the war broke out. Evidently there is a close connection between the recital of the early mythology and the story of the causes that led up to the Messenian wars. Seeing, then, that Myron wrote the story of the first war and included an account of the causes that led to it, and that there is a close connection between the earliest history and the later parts, it is probable that Myron's history included a sketch of the earliest Messenian history.

Now to recur to the question of the role that destiny played in Myron's history: there is no doubt that Myron recognized that the Messenians had incurred the wrath of the gods, for in c. 12, 1 this oracle is quoted: ἀλλ' ἀπάτη μὲν ἔχει γαίαν Μεσσηνίδα λαός, ταῖς δ' αὐταῖς τέχναισιν ἀλώσεται αἰσπερ ὑπῆρξεν, which clearly points to the fraudulent manner in which Cresphontes had obtained Messenia, and indicates that the Messenians are going to suffer for it. It is also more than probable that the story which relates how Cresphontes had Messenia allotted to himself, which is related in c. 3, 4-5, must have been told by Myron, because otherwise neither the above reference to it nor the allusion in the enumeration of the charges made by the Messenians against the Spartans (c. 5, 1) would be intelligible. Myron's history, then, not only took cognizance of Cresphontes' fraud in the oracle quoted (c. 12, 1), but made this episode a distinct feature of his history, by which the origin of the guilt that rested on the

Messenian people was explained. That some guilt rested on the Messenians is referred to by Manilius, *Astron.*, III, 14: *Non annosa canam Messenae bella NOCENTIS.*

The fraud of Cresphontes was sufficient cause, according to the oracle (c. 12, 1), to turn the force of destiny against the Messenians; but the wrath of the Dioscuri, in a certain sense the national divinities of the Lacedaemonians, whom, however, the Messenians also claimed as their own (Paus., III, 26, 3, and c. 31, 9), must be accounted for.

The role that the Dioscuri play and their connection with parts which have been shown above to have probably belonged to Myron's history, makes it likely that Myron's history had dealt with them also.

Their wrath is spoken of in c. 26, 6, where Caucon appears to Epaminondas in a dream and says: *σὺ δὲ Μεσσηνίοις γῆν τε πατρίδα καὶ πόλεις ἀπόδος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸ μήνιμα ἤδη σφίσι πέπνυται τὸ Διοσκούρων.* Pausanias tells, in c. 27, what he thought had been the reason of the displeasure of the Dioscuri—an event which happened before the battle of Stenyclarus. It was the exploit of two youths from Andania, Panormus and Gonippus, who, dressing so as to represent the two Dioscuri, come upon the Lacedaemonians while celebrating a feast, and, being welcomed by the people as the twin gods, succeed in killing a large number of them. Kohlmann thought Pausanias had taken this story from an earlier part of Rhianus' poem. But Rhianus described the siege of Eira, and this happened before that; and it was shown above that, although certain features in cc. 14–17 were taken from Rhianus, the bulk of the material was drawn from Myron. Besides, this exploit is told of two young Messenians called Panormus and Gonippus, and not of Aristomenes, as we should expect of Rhianus, which fact becomes all the more significant when we see that Polyaeus, II, 31, 31, who tells the same story, lets Aristomenes and a companion perform the deed. Again, Pausanias' conjecture, which lets the deed occur in the second war, does not explain the importance of the wrath of the Dioscuri which the words of Caucon indicate. According to Pausanias their wrath is only an incident of the second war, whereas Caucon's words to Epaminondas, "Give back to the Messenians their land, as the

wrath of the Dioscuri has ceased," seem to imply that the misfortunes of the Messenians were largely due to the anger of these divinities.

The fact that they are not spoken of in the first war, but in the second, is because they are mentioned in connection with tales about Aristomenes which we know were eliminated from the account of the first war by Pausanias. In c. 16, 9 Aristomenes is turned aside from a night attack on Sparta by a vision of Helen and the Dioscuri, and in c. 16, 5 the twin gods are represented as sitting on a fig tree during the battle of Stenyclarus, and when Aristomenes tries to pass this against the warning of the priest Theoclus, he loses his shield, and so the Lacedaemonians are able to escape. It has been shown that Myron was the main source for this part, and, as Myron had included Aristomenes in his account, these stories were probably taken from him. The name of the priest would, of course, have to be changed to Theoclus. Moreover, it must be observed that Aristomenes goes to Boeotia in order to get his shield back. This would have caused a long absence on his part; but, as everything seemed to depend on him in the second war, such an absence, before the Messenians had sought refuge in Eira, would have been fraught with danger to the Messenians, whereas in the first war there were other heroes besides Aristomenes to lead their forces to victory.

But, even if we suppose these events to have taken place during the first war, there is still lacking an explanation of the original cause of the wrath of the Dioscuri. That such a cause must have been at the root of the Messenian troubles was indicated, as already said, by the words of Caucon, and is further substantiated by the statement in c. 26, 6, that the Messenians refused to rebuild either Andania or Oichalia, because, as they said, their troubles had come to them while living there. These events must have occurred long before the time of Cresphontes, who made Stenyclarus his residence after the return of the Heraclidae. But before the Trojan war the kings had inhabited successively Andania, Arene and Pylus, and, as the successive changes of the residence of the kings are carefully noted, so Andania, which was the place where the kings resided from the earliest period down to the time of Aphareus, the father of Idas and Lynceus, was synonymous with the earliest period of

Messenian history. There seems to be good reason, then, to consider the combat of Idas and Lynceus (c. 3, 1) with the Dioscuri as the calamity referred to in c. 26, 6. It is true Arene was the residence of the king at this time, but the reference is approximate. This contest, in which the sons of Aphareus were killed, seems to be typical of the overthrow of the Messenian power by the Spartans (cf. Preller, *Gr. Myth.*, I, 95), and was well adapted to head the story of the calamities that came upon the Messenians.

Bearing in mind this affront to the Dioscuri, and the subsequent fraud of Cresphontes, we can understand the decree of fate that the Messenians were to be driven from their land. We see in the account of the first war how vain was the gallant defence of the Messenians and how fruitless the heroic efforts of Aristodemus, who, in trying to obey the oracle, even sacrificed his own daughter. Seemingly a contest with a rival nation, it was really a battle with destiny. We are made to feel the gloom of an adverse destiny, which had settled on the Messenians in the first war, in touches like the following :

Euphaes said, when he saw Theopompus, the Spartan leader, advancing, that the case of the latter was like that of his ancestor Polynices ; for Polynices had brought an army from Argos against his country, and had killed his brother with his own hand and had been killed in turn, and now Theopompus desired to bring upon the race of Heracles the same guilt as rested on the descendants of Laius and Oedipus. Again, when Aristodemus had rather murdered than sacrificed his daughter, the priests refused to look upon the death of the latter as the sacrifice which the oracle demanded, and subsequently opposed, though in vain, the election of Aristodemus as king, since he was polluted by the murder of his daughter. One adverse oracle after the other disheartened the people, and when a series of evil omens finally threw Aristodemus into despair, he slew himself on the grave of his daughter. He had thought that he was to be the saviour of the Messenians, but *τύχη* had rendered all his plans and deeds fruitless (c. 13, 4).¹

¹ The idea that the Lacedaemonians conquered by *τύχη*, and not through their own prowess, is mentioned again in c. 25, 5.

In this manner the Lacedaemonians triumphed over the Messenians. But, at the same time that the oracle at Delphi was sending answers that showed that destiny was in favor of the Spartans, it intimated a future overthrow of the Lacedaemonian power. It is interesting to observe that the specific charge that is brought against the Messenians is deceit (c. 12, 1).

ἀλλ' ἀπάτη μὲν ἔχει γαῖαν Μεσσηνίδα λαός,
ταῖς δ' αὐταῖς τέχναισι αὐλώσεται αἰσπερ ὑπήρξεν.

But in this very oracle in which reference is made to Messenian deceit (i. e., Cresphontes' fraud) as the ground of their downfall, it points to the deceit of the Spartans, by which they are going to conquer. This is referred to again in c. 12, 4, where the Messenians are warned against Spartan wiles. But, by the employment of the means of deceit, the Spartans seem to bring guilt upon themselves. At least, the oracle is reminded of such acts of the Spartans as the night attack upon Ampheia, before war had been proclaimed, or their bribing of Aristocrates to betray the Messenians. So we are informed, in c. 12, 7, by an oracle which, though it is seemingly intended for the Messenians, is really addressed to the Spartans,

Ζεὺς γὰρ ἔνευσ' οὕτως · ἀπάτη δέ σε τρόσθε τίθησιν,
ἢ δ' ὀπίσω τίσις ἐστί, καὶ οὐ θεὸν ἐξαπατῶης.
ἔρδ' ὅππῃ τὸ χρεῶν · ἄτη δ' ἄλλοισι πρὸ ἄλλων.

"Deceit now places the Spartans ahead; but their punishment will follow." It is to this oracle that reference is made in the account of the restoration, c. 26, 4: Ἐγένετό τε οὐ μετὰ πολὺ ἐν Λεύκτροις Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ ἀτύχημα ὀφειλόμενον ἐκ παλαιοῦ · Ἀριστοδήμῳ γὰρ τῷ βασιλεύσαντι Μεσσηνίων ἐπὶ τελευτῇ τοῦ δοθέντος ἐστίν.

ἔρδ' ὅππῃ τὸ χρεῶν · ἄτη δ' ἄλλοισι πρὸ ἄλλων.

Myron's history makes the future punishment of the Spartans appear deserved; for, not to speak of the many acts of injustice against other nations which are charged against the Lacedaemonians in c. 5, they are represented in this instance as waging an unjust war, and that against their own kinsmen, and, though the Messenians had been willing to leave their dispute to arbitration, the

Spartans rejected all overtures to peace, and without even giving warning, fell upon Ampheia and captured it in a night attack. They are charged by the Messenians with having provoked the war, and that through greed, as they desired the Messenian land. Euphaes consoles the Messenians with the words (c. 6, 6): *καὶ τὸ εὐμενέστερον ἔσεσθαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀμύνουσι τῇ οἰκείᾳ καὶ οὐκ ἀδικίας ἀρχουσι*. The last words bring to mind Medea's words (Eurip. *Medea*, 165): *οἱ γ' ἐμὲ πρόσθεν τολμῶσ' ἀδικεῖν*, which recognize the wrong of those who are first in doing injury.

It must be evident that Myron's history would have been incomplete without an account of the manner in which, in later years, retribution had been meted out to the Spartans, and of the way in which the Messenians had been restored to their country.

I have nearly come to the close of my argument. There remains only to be added an investigation of the sketch of the third Messenian war, of chapter 25, and of a few points in chapter 26.

VIII.

a). The Third Messenian War.

It is generally supposed that Pausanias got his account of the third Messenian war from Thucydides. Unger, *Philol.*, 41, 119, says: "Pausanias, welcher die zwei ersten messenischen Kriege so ausführlich erzählt, weiss von dem letzten auffallend wenig zu berichten: was er angibt, . . . ist zum *grössten* Theil, oft wörtlich, aus Thuc., I, 101, 102 und 128 entlehnt. Weder die Dauer des Kriegs und das Datum seiner Beendigung noch den Verlauf desselben weiss er anzugeben." Likewise, Busolt says, *Gr. Gesch.*, II, 439, 1: "Der Bericht bei Paus., IV, 24, 5, und I, 29, 8 geht, abgesehen von der Zeitangabe, der Hauptsache nach auf Thuc., I, 128 und I, 101 zurück."

We find in Pausanias three paragraphs devoted to the third war, which is, as Unger remarks, exceedingly little when we contrast therewith the detailed accounts about the first and second war. We might seek in this a confirmation of the view expressed above (p. 30), that it was Pausanias' aim to avoid telling over again what had been already told by some well known writer. But this explanation is not satisfactory, if we believe, with the above named

authorities, that Pausanias constructed his account from different sources. His date he got from some Althis, according to Unger, and possibly his confounding the date of the outbreak of the Helot revolt with that of Cimon's expedition is to be traced to the same source, according to Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.*, II, 454, n. And of the remainder of these three paragraphs it is only affirmed that most of it, not all, was taken from Thucydides, and even here Thuc., I, 128 had to be combined with Thuc., I, 101, sqq. We should have to admit, then, that Pausanias was not bent on condensing, but on constructing independently an account of the third war, which view does not harmonize with the meagre account that confronts us, many things having been omitted that might very well have been taken from Thucydides.

Busolt connects Paus., c. 24, 5 with I, 29, 8, and thinks that both passages have been taken from Thucydides; but on comparison we see a marked difference. In I, 29, 8 Helots alone are mentioned as revolting, whereas in c. 24, 6 it is that part of the Helots which had been Messenians (cf. c. 24, 6; III, 11, 8). That the sources for books I and IV should have been different is quite natural, as book I was written much earlier, and had even been published separately (cf. Gurlitt, *op. cit.*, 3). Now Paus., c. 24, 5 cannot be from Thucydides, for Pausanias, as we have seen, says that *only* the *Messenian* portion of the Helots revolted; but Thucydides, *Gr. Gesch.*, I, 101, says: οἱ Εἰλωτες αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν περιόικων Θουριᾶται τε καὶ Αἰθαιῆς ἐς Ἰθώμην ἀπέστησαν. πλείστοι δὲ τῶν Εἰλώτων ἐγένοντο οἱ τῶν παλαιῶν Μεσσηνίων τότε δουλωθέντων ἀπόγονοι· ἥ καὶ Μεσσηνιοὶ ἐκλήθησαν οἱ πάντες. Thucydides is quite explicit about the matter, and, as Pausanias is equally explicit in III, 11, 8, I cannot think that he owes this part to Thucydides.

A detailed comparison of the two accounts will show that Pausanias did not necessarily derive his account from Thucydides.

Paus., c. 24, 5: Λακεδαιμονίων
ἄνδρες ἀποθανεῖν ἐπὶ ἐγκλήματι
ὄτφ δὴ καταγνωσθέντες ἰκέται
καταφεύγουσιν ἐς Ταΐναρον· ἐν-
τεῦθεν δὲ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῶν ἐφόρων
ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ σφᾶς ἀποσπά-
σασα ἀπέκτεινε.

Thuc., I, 128: οἱ γὰρ Λακε-
δαιμόνιοι ἀναστήσαντές ποτε ἐκ
τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἀπὸ
Ταινάρου τῶν Εἰλώτων ἰκέτας
ἀπαγαγόντες διέφθειραν.

Thucydides says the suppliants were Helots; Pausanias says Lacedaemonians; on the other hand, Thucydides says Lacedaemonians punished them; Pausanias says the Ephors did so. We have seen above that Myron had granted unusual powers to the Ephors in the first war (p. 13). They are mentioned in cc. 4, 8, 5, 4 and 12, 2. In c. 5, 4 the phrase τῶν τε ἐφόρων τὴν ἀρχὴν occurs just as in c. 24, 5. It is also worth noticing that Pausanias' version is particularized, which is also the case in the following:

Paus.: Σπαρτιάταις δὲ ἐν οὐ-
δενὶ λόγῳ θεμένοις τοὺς ἰκέτας
ἀπήντησεν ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος μή-
νιμα.

Thuc.: δι' ὃ δὴ καὶ σφίσιν
αὐτοῖς νομίζουσι τὸν μέγαν σει-
σμὸν γεέεσθαι ἐν Σπάρτῃ.

Not only does Pausanias put in stronger relief the connection between the execution of the suppliants and the earthquake, but also between this and the revolt. He begins by saying: ἀπέστησαν δὲ καιρὸν τοιόνδε εὐρόντες, and ends with ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ συμφορᾷ ταύτῃ (cf. Thuc., I, 101, 2). More serious is the following difference: Thucydides says nothing of the effect of the earthquake, whereas Pausanias says: καί, σφίσιν ἐς ἔδαφος τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν κατέλαβεν ὁ θεός. This, however, has been very fully treated by Ephorus (cf. Diod., XI, 63; Plut., Cimon, XVI, 6). But Ephorus could not have been used as a source here, for it seems highly improbable that Pausanias should have condensed a long description of the earthquake into a bald statement of the effect in order to insert that in matter that he had derived from another source. Besides, Ephorus spoke of Messenians and Helots as revolting (cf. Diod., XI, 63, 84, 7; Plut., Cimon, XVI, 6; XVII, 4), which argues, as we have seen, against the employment of his account as a source.

Pausanias continues: Λακε-
δαιμόνιοι δὲ ἄλλα τε μετεπέ-
μποντο συμμαχικὰ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς
καὶ Κίμωνα τὸν Μιλτιάδου
πρόξενόν σφίσιν ὄντα καὶ Ἀθη-
ναίων δύναμιν.

Thuc., I, 102: Λακεδαιμόνιοι
δὲ, ὥς αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ἰθώ-
μῃ ἐμῆκύνετο ὁ πόλεμος, ἄλλους
τε ἐπεκαλέσαντο ξυμμάχους καὶ
'Αθηναίους· οἱ δ' ἦλθον Κίμω-
νος στρατηγοῦντος πλήθει οὐκ
ὀλίγῃ.

The phrase *ἄλλα τε—καὶ* is so common in Pausanias that a verbal correspondence need by no means to be thought of (cf. cc. 1, 2; 1, 7; 1, 9; 2, 3; 2, 5; 3, 1; 3, 6; 3, 10; 4, 5; 4, 6; 4, 7; 5, 3; 5, 4; 5, 6; 6, 4; 6, 6; 7, 1; 7, 3; 7, 4; 8, 2; 9, 6; 10, 1; 10, 5; 10, 6; 11, 4; 11, 8; 12, 9; 12, 10; etc.). Moreover, allowance must be made for the possibility that Thucydides was the ultimate source for Pausanias' statements, which could come to him through Myron, who, as we have seen, drew from Thucydides (see also p. 12).

Paus.: ἀφικομένους δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὑποπτεῦσαι δοκοῦσιν ὡς τάχα νεωτερίζοντας, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ὑποψίας ἀποπέμψασθαι μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἐξ Ἰθώμης.

Thuc., I, 102: οἱ γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπειδὴ τὸ χωρίον βίᾳ οὐχ ἠλίσκετο, δείσαντες τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ τολμηρὸν καὶ τὴν νεωτεροποιίαν, καὶ ἀλλοφύλους ἅμα ἡγησάμενοι, μή τι, ἣν παραμείνωσιν, ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Ἰθώμῃ πεισθέντες νεωτερίσωσι, μόνους τῶν ξυμμάχων ἀπέπεμψαν, κ. τ. λ.

Here the word *νεωτερίζοντας* seems to come from *νεωτεροποιίαν* and *νεωτερίσωσι*. But this could very well have been preserved in the source which Pausanias used, just as we find it in Plut., *Cimon*, 17, 4: ἀπεπέμψαντο μόνους τῶν συμμάχων ὡς νεωτεριστάς, which is still closer to the form of expression used by Thucydides.

Paus.: Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τὴν ἐς αὐτοὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὑπόνοιαν συνέντες Ἀργείοις τε φίλοι δι' αὐτὸ ἐγένοντο.

Thuc., I, 102, 4: οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἔγνωσαν οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ βελτίονι λόγῳ ἀποπεμπόμενοι, ἀλλὰ τινος ὑπόπτου γενομένου, καὶ δεινὸν ποιησάμενοι . . . Ἀργείοις τοῖς ἐκείνων πολεμίοις ξύμμαχοι ἐγένοντο.

Paus.: καὶ Μεσσηνίων τοῖς ἐν Ἰθώμῃ πολιορκουμένοις ἐκπεσοῦσιν ὑποσπόνδοις ἔδοσαν Ναύπακτον, ἀφελόμενοι Λοκ-

Thuc., I, 103, 3: ἐξῆλθον δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ παῖδες καὶ γυναῖκες, καὶ αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναῖοι δεξάμενοι κατ' ἔχθος ἤδη τὸ Λακε-

ροὺς τοὺς πρὸς Αἰτωλία καλου-
μένους Ὀζόλας.

δαιμονίων ἐς Ναύπακτον κατάρ-
κισαν, ἣν ἔτυχον ἡρηκότες νεω-
στὶ Λοκρῶν τῶν Ὀζολῶν ἐχόν-
των.

There is no verbal correspondence noticeable here. Pausanias continues: τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις παρέσχευ ἀπελθεῖν ἐξ Ἰθώμης τοῦ τε χωρίου τὸ ἐχυρόν. This is not in Thucydides; but in Paus., c. 9, 3, we read: ἦν δὲ τὸ χωρίον καὶ ἄλλως ἐχυρόν· ἡ γὰρ Ἰθώμη μεγέθει τε οὐδενὸς ἀποδεῖ τῶν ὀρῶν ὅποσα ἐντὸς ἐστὶν Ἰσθμοῦ, καὶ δύσβατος κατὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα ἦν.

Paus.: καὶ ἅμα Λακεδαιμονί-
οις προεῖπεν ἡ Πυθία ἡ μὴν
εἶναί σφισι δίκην ἀμαρτοῦσιν
ἐς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἰθωμάτα τὸν
ικέτην. ὑπόσπονδοι μὲν ἐκ Πε-
λοποννήσου τούτων ἔνεκα ἀφεί-
θησαν.

Thuc., I, 103, 2: ἦν δέ τι
καὶ χρηστήριον τοῖς Λακεδαι-
μονίοις Πυθικὸν πρὸ τοῦ, τὸν
ικέτην τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἰθωμήτα
ἀφιέναι.

Thucydides simply mentions the fact that there had been an oracle commanding the Lacedaemonians to release the suppliant of Zeus Ithomatas. Pausanias says Pythia told them that punishment was due them for *having sinned* against the suppliant of Zeus Ithomatas. Here is evidently a reference to the *first* Messenian war.

The above discussion, I think, makes it plausible that Pausanias did not obtain his sketch of the third war from Thucydides, but from some other source, probably Myron.

b). Chapter XXV.

To show that the following chapter (25) was taken from Myron I shall first demonstrate its unreality. The third Messenian war ended 462-1 B. C. (Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.*, II, 475), after which the Athenians settled the Messenians in Naupactus (Thuc., I, 103, 3), and they were known thereafter as Μεσσήνιοι οἱ ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ (Thuc., II, 9, 4). These Messenians, according to Pausanias, wishing to distinguish themselves, made an expedition against the

town Oeniadae. This town was so well fortified and so isolated from the rest of Acarnania that it stood nearly always in a hostile relation towards the rest of Acarnania (Bursian, I, 122), and so we find it on the side of the Lacedaemonians, although the rest of Acarnania was friendly to the Athenians (Thuc., II, 82).

Pericles made an unsuccessful attack upon it in 454 B. C. (Thuc., I, 111, 2), and in 429 B. C. the Athenians, under Phormion, together with four hundred Messenians, made an expedition into Acarnania, but did not attack Oeniadae for the reason that, being winter, its situation made it impossible to do so (Thuc., II, 102). In the following year Asopus, the son of Phormion, made an attack on Oeniadae in the summer, hoping thus to succeed where his father had failed (Thuc., III, 7, 4-5). But, though he made his attack by land and sea, he was also unsuccessful. Finally, in the year 424 B. C., the Acarnanians force the Oeniadans to join the Athenian alliance (Thuc., IV, 77).

Now we read in Pausanias that the Messenians captured this town, held it for a year, and were then driven out by the Acarnanians. This account fairly bristles with impossibilities and improbabilities. They must have taken it between 462 and 424 B. C. During this time the Athenians were fully alive to its importance, and, as we have seen, tried hard to get possession of it. Yet after the Messenians had captured it, without assistance and without ships, they are allowed to remain there a year without any attention being paid them, not even by the inhabitants of Naupactus; and, what is just as strange, the Messenians themselves do not herald their success. At the end of this time the Acarnanians, who are friendly to the Athenians, seem to ignore the fact that the Messenians are allies, attack them, and after eight months the Oeniadans are brought into such straits that they make a sally, and so succeed in fighting their way back to Naupactus.

I think this account is an invention of Myron, who wrote it to fill out the period of exile. A careful historian could have found other material in Thucydides which would have served the same purpose. But, as the author of c. 25 evidently desired to glorify the Messenians, he preferred to draw on his imagination.

A detailed examination will give support to this hypothesis. Pausanias, c. 25, 1, says: *Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔσχον τὴν Ναύπακτον, οὐκ*

ἀπέχρη πόλιν τε αὐτοῖς καὶ χώραν εἰληφέναι παρ' Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλὰ σφᾶς πόθος εἶχεν ἰσχυρὸς χερσὶ ταῖς αὐτῶν φανῆναι λόγου τι κεκτημένους ἄξιον. It seems that immediately on occupying Nau-pactus they are bent on doing something great. So in the following sentence, c. 25, 1: *ὄντες δὲ ἀριθμῷ μὲν οὐ πλείους, ἀρετῇ δὲ καὶ πολὺ ἀμείνονες ὄντες τῇ σφετέρᾳ νικῶσι, καὶ ἐπολιόρκουν κατακεκλειμένους ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, κ. τ. λ.* Compare with this c. 11, 4: *ἀριθμῷ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἐναντίων ἀπελείποντο, λογάδες δὲ ὄντες ἐμάχοντο πρὸς δῆμον καὶ οὐχ ὁμοίως πρὸς κρείττους, κ. τ. λ.* We must be surprised to see such prowess in a conquered race. It is plain that what is said of the occupation of the town is pure fiction. Paus., c. 25, 3: *καὶ ἐνιαυτὸν μὲν μάλιστα οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ κατέσχον τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἐνέμοντο τὴν χώραν.* They took no pains to make known their remarkable success. Paus., c. 25, 3: *τῷ δὲ ἔτει τῷ ὑστέρῳ δύναμιν οἱ Ἀκαρνᾶνες ἀπὸ πασῶν συλλέξαντες τῶν πόλεων ἐβουλεύοντο ἐπὶ τὴν Ναύπακτον στρατεύειν.* But both parties were allied with the Athenians! The phrase οἱ Ἀκαρνᾶνες ἀπὸ πασῶν συλλέξαντες τῶν πόλεων reminds one strongly of Paus., c. 17, 2: *Ἀρκάδων βεβροθηκότων ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων,* and c. 11, 1: *οἳ τε Ἀρκάδες πανστρατιᾷ,* both of which are from Myron (see p. 37). The Acarnanians then change their minds and attack the Messenians in Oeniadae, notwithstanding the fact that the Messenians were friendly to the Athenians, and that it was these very Acarnanians who finally brought Oeniadae into the Athenian alliance. They did not think that the Messenians (c. 25, 4) *ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀπονοίας ἦξιν* as to resist the whole Acarnanian force. Here we have the thought of desperation again, which was so marked in the first two wars, especially in the first. Nevertheless the Messenians determine to resist, and at first before the walls of their town, just as they fought before the walls of Ithome in the first war (see p. 24). Paus., c. 25, 5: *μηδὲ ὄντας Μεσσηνίους, οἳ μηδὲ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀνδρία τύχῃ δὲ ἡλαττώθησαν, καταπεπληγχαί τὸν ἦκοντα ὄχλον ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας.* It was in the first war especially that τύχῃ was opposed to the Messenians (see p. 63).

In the battle that follows the Acarnanians try to surround the Messenians, but these keep the city at their backs (c. 25, 6): *αἱ πύλαι τε ἀπεῖργον κατὰ νότου τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις γινόμενοι*; in the same manner c. 11, 2: *[Ἀριστόδημος] προείδετο δὲ καὶ ὄπως*

τεταγμένοις σφίσι τὸ ὄρος ἢ Ἰθώμη κατὰ νότου γίνονται. The Messenians succeeded in holding the entire force of the Acarnanians at bay till nightfall. Then, however, the Acarnanians receive reinforcements! They had *far* outnumbered the Messenians before this. The Messenians now hold out against a siege for eight months, and finally succeed in escaping, as stated above. The purpose of chapter 25 was evidently to describe the period of exile, and so lead over to the restoration. Hence it is closely connected with the third war, which preceded, and also with the restoration, which is related in the next chapter.

c). *Chapter XXVI.*

Chapter 26 begins as follows: τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου τὸν τε ἄλλον χρόνον ἐνέκειτό σφισι τὸ ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους μῖσος, καὶ τὴν ἐχθραν ἐς αὐτοὺς μάλιστα ἐπεδείξαντο ἐπὶ τοῦ γενομένου Πελοποννησίου πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πολέμου· τὴν τε γὰρ Ναύπακτον ὀρμητήριον ἐπὶ τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ παρείχοντο. The prominence given here to the hatred which the Messenians bore the Spartans shows, I think, the same spirit which has been so often noted above in Myron's history. We find it expressed again in c. 26, 5: οἱ δὲ θάσσουν ἢ ὥς ἂν τις ἤλπισε συνελέχθησαν γῆς τε τῆς πατρίδος πόθῳ καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους μῖσος παραμεῖναν αἰεὶ σφισιν. No doubt this hatred for the Spartans, just as their friendship for the Arcadians, was frequently spoken of (cf. Polyb., IV, 32), and so we find it mentioned again in c. 29, 3, which lies outside of Myron's sphere. The remark concerning hate in c. 29, 6 is made by Pausanias himself. Nevertheless the prominence which is given to hatred in the passages quoted above (c. 26, 1-5) makes this resemble the fury which animated the contending parties in the first war. Very different is c. 23, 5 in the Rhianus part, where Manticlus tells the Messenians to forget their hatred of the Spartans.

Pausanias, c. 26, 1, continues: καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Σφακτηρίᾳ Σπαρτιατῶν ἀποληφθέντας Μεσσηνίων σφενδονῆται τῶν ἐκ Ναυπάκτου συνεξείλον. The help that the Messenians afford at Sphacteria is told by Thucydides, IV, 36, 1, sqq.; but he speaks of *archers*. On the other hand, *slingers* are mentioned in the account of the

first war (c. 11, 3). Paus., c. 26, 2, continues: *ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ παῖσμα ἐγένετο τὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς, οὕτω καὶ ἐκ Ναυπάκτου τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἐκβάλλουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ναυσὶν ἐπικρατοῦντες, οἱ ἐς Σικελίαν τε παρὰ τοὺς συγγενεῖς καὶ ἐς Ῥήγιον ἐστάλησαν.* Rhianus had told only of the colony that went to Zancle at the invitation of Anaxilas. Myron's account of the exiles was very much condensed, and yet we read in c. 23, 6: *μετῴκησε δὲ Ἀλκιδαμίδας ἐκ Μεσσήνης ἐς Ῥήγιον μετὰ τὴν Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ βασιλέως τελευτὴν καὶ Ἰθώμης τὴν ἄλωσιν,* which shows that he had said more of exiles than Pausanias lets us see.

The third place to which the Messenians now fled, according to Pausanias, was Africa. This account would be a puzzle, unless we recognize the constructive genius of Myron to have been at work. It seems to be a combination of what Diodorus, XIV, 34, 2, sqq., tells of the dispersion of the Messenians after they were driven out of Naupactus, and of some statements in Thucydides which have nothing to do with the Messenians; but this material has been much changed and additions made to it. Pausanias (c. 26, 2) says: *τὸ πλεῖστον δὲ αὐτῶν ἐς τε Λιβύην ἀφίκετο καὶ Λιβύης ἐς Εὐεσπερίτας· οἱ γὰρ Εὐεσπερίται πολέμῳ κακωθέντες ὑπὸ βαρβάρων προσοίκων πάντα τινὰ Ἑλληνα ἐπεκαλοῦντο σύνοικον.* ἐς τούτους τῶν Μεσσηνίων τὸ πολλὸν ἀπεχώρησεν. Diodorus, XIV, 34, 2, sqq., tells us that the Messenians went to different countries and took part in the wars there; with this the account in Pausanias would harmonize fairly well; also when Diodorus says: *εἰς Κυρήνην ἐπλευσαν περὶ τρισχιλίους,* which might justify the statement in Pausanias: *τὸ πλεῖστον δὲ αὐτῶν ἐς τε Λιβύην ἀφίκετο.* Yet Diodorus says that they went to Cyrene, whereas Pausanias says to Euesperides, a town lying west of Cyrene. This discrepancy cannot be an accident, for the names Cyrene and Euesperitae recur in both accounts.

If now we bear in mind the free manner in which Myron used suggestions he found in the history of Thucydides, it will be easy to see a close correspondence in this case. Thuc., VII, 19, 3, says: *οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ ἀπέστελλον περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ταῖς ὀλκάσι τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν, Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν τῶν τε Εἰλώτων ἐπιλεξάμενοι τοὺς βελτίστους καὶ τῶν νεοδαμωδῶν,*

ξυναμφοτέρων ἐς ἑξακοσίους ὀπλίτας, κ. τ. λ. This expedition is referred to again in Thucy., VII, 50, 2: τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου τοῦ ἥρος ἐν ταῖς ὀλκάσιν ὀπλίτας ἀποσταλέντας, ἀφικομένους ἀπὸ τῆς Λιβύης ἐς Σελινοῦντα. ἀπενεχθέντες γὰρ ἐς Λιβύην, καὶ δόντων Κυρηναίων τριῆρεις δύο καὶ τοῦ πλοῦ ἡγεμόνας, καὶ ἐν τῷ παράπλῳ Εὐεσπερίταις πολιορκουμένοις ὑπὸ Λιβύων ξυμμαχήσαντες καὶ νικήσαντες. τοὺς Λίβυς, καὶ αὐτόθεν παραπλεύσαντες ἐς Νέαν πόλιν, κ. τ. λ. Although there were no Messenians in this expedition, yet there were Helots, and one familiar with Thucydides, as Myron must have been, could easily have remembered some of the circumstances, especially as the Euesperitans are only mentioned here. Besides, this expedition met with success in Africa, as in Pausanias' account, whereas Diodorus says of the Messenians: οἱ δὲ Μεσσηνιοὶ σχεδὸν ἅπαντες ἀνιρέθησαν, of which disaster there is not a hint in Pausanias.

Moreover, the name of the Messenian leader which Pausanias (c. 26, 2) gives must be considered; he says: ἐς τούτους τῶν Μεσσηνίων τὸ πολὺ ἀπεχώρησεν ἡγεμὼν δὲ σφισιν ἦν Κόμων, δς καὶ περὶ τὴν Σφακτηρίαν ἐστρατήγησε αὐτοῖς. Neither Thucydides nor anybody else knows anything about this Comon. He is represented as the leader who had conducted the Messenians from Naupactus to Africa, and now in his old age is permitted to experience the joy of the restoration. He is also one of the first to be apprised of this fact, as follows (c. 26, 3): *Ενιαντῷ δὲ πρότερον ἢ κατορθῶσαι Θεβαίους τὰ ἐν Λεύκτροις, προσεσήμεινεν ὁ δαίμων Μεσσηνίοις τὴν ἐς Πελοπόννησον κάθοδον . . . τοῦτο δὲ ἐν Εὐεσπερίταις Κόμων συγγενέσθαι νεκρῇ τῇ μητρὶ ἐδόκει, συγγενομένου δέ, αὐθὶς οἱ τὴν μητέρα ἀναβιδῶναι* (cf. this dream with that of Aristodemus, pp. 56, 57). *καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπήλπιζεν Ἀθηναίων δυνεθέντων ναυτικῇ κάθοδον ἔσεσθαι σφισιν ἐς Ναύπακτον · τὸ δὲ ἄρα ἐδήλου τὸ ὄνειρον ἀνασώσεσθαι Μεσσηνῆν. Ἐγένετό τε οὐ μετὰ πολὺ ἐν Λεύκτροις Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ ἀτύχημα ὀφειλόμενον ἐκ παλαιοῦ.* Very noteworthy is the artistic feature that this gray-haired Messenian interprets the dream to mean only that he is to return to Naupactus; but the much greater happiness of being restored to his country is reserved to heighten his joy. Now this is what happens: Comon leads the Messenians back to their country, and they there build the walls of their city Messene. In

the same manner Comon returned to Athens and rebuilt the walls there (Xen., *Hell.*, IV, 8, 10). Besides, in Thuc., VII, 31, 4, we read: ἀφικνεῖται δὲ καὶ Κόνων παρ' αὐτοὺς, ὃς ἦρχε Ναυπάκτου, κ. τ. λ.; that is, Comon was also a commander of Naupactus. What an easy change to imagine a Comon to be also a leader of the Naupactian Messenians, who is destined to lead them back to their country! We must bear in mind while examining Pausanias' account of the restoration that Xenophon omitted to say anything about it, and we have to thank Pausanias for most of what we know (Grote, *Gk. Hist.*, IX, 449). Here was, then, an excellent opportunity for Myron to reconstruct the history of the restoration of the Messenians to their country. And, as I have pointed out above that Comon's restoration of the walls of Athens was suggestive to him, so I find also in the same connection in Xen., IV, 8, 10: ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος πολὺ τοῦ τείχους ὥρθωσε . . . καὶ τέκτοσι καὶ λιθολόγοις μισθὸν διδούς, καὶ ἄλλο εἴ τι ἀναγκαῖον ἦν, δαπανῶν. A similar detail is mentioned in Paus., c. 27, 5: λίθους τε ἄγεσθαι κελεύων καὶ ἄνδρας μεταπεμπόμενος, οἷς τέχνη στενωποὺς κατατέμνεσθαι καὶ οἰκίας καὶ ἱερὰ οἰκοδομεῖσθαι καὶ τεῖχη περιβάλλεσθαι. The following sentence in Pausanias, ὡς δὲ ἐγένονοι τὰ πάντα ἐν ἐτοίμῳ, τὸ ἐντεῦθεν . . . ἔθουον, intimates that Epaminondas remained on the spot until all of these extensive preparations for building were complete. This seems very improbable, when we remember that Epaminondas had many other things to attend to during his stay in the Peloponnesus, and while there overstayed his time at the risk of being punished with death by the home authorities (Paus., IX, 14, 5).

The importance of this restoration was well known. Pausanias, IX, 15, 6, mentions a statue of Epaminondas with this inscription: καὶ ἐλεγεῖα ἔπεστιν ἄλλα τε ἐς αὐτὸν λέγοντα, καὶ ὅτι Μεσσηνίας γένοιτο οἰκιστὴς καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ὑπάρξειεν ἐλευθερία δι' αὐτοῦ. Therefore it seemed very appropriate that the extraordinary sacrifices which Pausanias (c. 27, 7) mentions should take place, and to further celebrate the occasion εἰργάζοντο δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ μουσικῆς ἄλλης μὲν οὐδαμῶς, αὐλῶν δὲ Βοιωτίων καὶ Ἀργείων. This finds a parallel in Xen., *Hell.*, II, 2, 23, where Xenophon describes how the walls of Athens were torn down. This was also considered the beginning of liberty, and was also celebrated with the music of

flutes: *καὶ τὰ τεῖχη κατέσκαπτον ὑπ' αὐλητρίδων πολλῇ προθυμῳ, νομίζοντες ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἄρχειν τῆς ἐλευθερίας.*

I add a few words in conclusion in order to sum up the results that have been attained.

The pith of the Messenian history lies in a few facts. In very early times the Messenian people were conquered by the Spartans, and, while a part of them may have gone into exile, the majority were reduced to the state of the Helot class. Then, after about 300 years, Epaminondas reorganized the Messenian state, and thus put an everlasting check on Spartan power.

Almost nothing is known about these events, and Pausanias' account owes its origin to the brains of patriotic Messenians, who invented tales whose aim was to glorify the Messenian nation at the expense of their perennial foes, the Spartans. To weave a connected account out of this material required the imaginative brains of such men as the poet Rhianus and the rhetorician Myron. We have seen the limits of Rhianus' poem. In regard to Myron, however, the investigation has shown, step by step, that his Messenian history must have had a wider scope than is generally supposed.

I began with the generally conceded assumption that his account told of the capture of Ampheia and extended as far as the death of Aristodemus. It was shown, however, that this assumption narrowed the limits of Myron's history unduly, as it was based on a false interpretation of c. 6. Others had supposed that Myron's history may have had an introduction, and pointed *viz.* to the Polychares episode as coming from Myron. I showed, by an extended examination of the introduction, that this was so closely related to the account of the first war that the conclusion that it had been written by Myron seems inevitable. Next it was shown that Myron's history had extended to the close of the first war, and had even related how the Messenians had been exiled. Now already the scope of Myron's history appeared such that it would have seemed strange if Myron would have been satisfied to stop at the first war. But another chapter, which dealt with cc. 14-17, showed that Myron had not undertaken to write distinctly of the first war; but, as he had included the stories about Aristomenes,

besides other matter which pertained to the second war, he had possibly had a larger aim in view, which was to tell all about the way in which the Messenians had been subjugated by the Spartans. In doing this he used all the tradition available, in order to tell of one great war. From this conception of Myron's history it was but a step to another conclusion, namely, that Myron had also related how the Messenians had been restored to their country by Epaminondas. An examination of the account of the restoration has made it clear that this had actually been the case. Accordingly, we see that Myron's history had extended from the earliest mythological period down to 370 B. C., which limits would naturally present themselves to one who wished, as Myron did, to glorify the Messenian nation.

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